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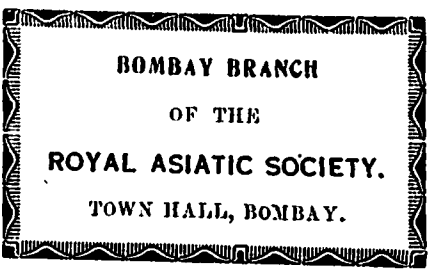

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Catherine of Braganza
Queen of Charles II
from a Picture by
Sir Peter Lely

PERSONAL MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE SECOND;

WITH

Sketches of his Court and Times.

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BY

J. W. CLAYTON, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF

"LETTERS FROM THE NILE," "UBIQUE," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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PERSONAL MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Charles quits Paris, and proceeds to Cologne.—Disgraceful attempts of Queen Henrietta and the Court of France to compel the young Duke of Gloucester to become a Catholic.—Letter of the King to his brother.—Charles sends for him.—Excursion to Frankfort fair.—Visit to Queen Christina.—Habits and pursuits of the young King.—Letter to his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia; and to the Duke of Albemarle.—Treaty between Cromwell and France.—Letter of Henrietta to her eldest son.—He is invited into the Spanish territories.—Removes to Bruges.—Treaty of Charles with Don John.—Regiments raised for the King of Spain.—The young King proceeds to Brussels.—Reduction of Mardike and Dunkirk.—Gallant conduct of Charles and his brothers.

AFTER remaining nearly three years in France, Charles left Paris on the 1st of July, 1654, having received from Cardinal Mazarin 42,000 livres for his expenses, and a promise of the continuance

of his pension. Accompanied by the Duke of York and his cousins, Princes Rupert and Edward, he went first to Chatillon, a mansion of the Prince of Condé's, whence, about the latter end of the month, he proceeded by way of Cambray to Liege and Spa. There he was joined by his sister, the Princess of Orange; and, having been presented with 200,000 rix-dollars by the Emperor and the Imperial College, "who also enacted that no scandalous book published against him should be bought or sold in Germany, under pain of death,"[1] he set out for Cologne, the place of his future residence. There he arrived with the Princess on the 6th of October, thirty great guns being discharged at their entrance, and the deputies of the city going forth in a solemn manner to meet them, and to conduct them to the Palace prepared by the chief magistrates for their reception. Here they were regaled with a sumptuous banquet; presents were also made them of the choicest wines. At the Jesuits' College, he was received with all possible honours, "seven boys, richly habited, holding in their hands seven shields, with the letters 'CAROLUS' written on them, only one of these letters appearing upon each shield. After which, he sat down to a repast, including all the fruits of the season."[2] After visiting the Duke of Neuberg at Düsseldorf, the Princess returned to Holland, and Charles to Cologne, where he

[1] So says the author of Monarchy Revived, p. 179; but may we not reasonably suspect him of some exaggeration?

[2] Thurloe, Vol. ii. p. 661.

settled his head-quarters with a hospitable widow, who received him into her house, and lodged him for two years gratis.

On the departure of the King from France, he had been prevailed upon by his mother to leave the Duke of Gloucester with her at the Palais Royal, when she faithfully promised not to permit any attempt to be made to induce him to change his religion. It was not long, however, before the Queen, at the instigation of the French Court and some English Papists about her, exerted all the authority of a parent to induce him to forsake the faith in which he had been brought up.[2]

About the beginning of November, under pretext of weaning him from a too great familiarity with some young French gallants in the same academy with him, the Duke was removed to the house of Abbot Mountague, near Pontoise. He had been here but a few days, when, in the absence of Mr. Lovel, his tutor, who had gone to Paris for only one day on business, he was most vehemently importuned to turn Roman Catholic by the Abbot, who used every argument to prevail upon him to do so. Having no Protestant near him to advise with, but a young gentleman of his bedchamber, named Griffin, the young Prince is represented to have deported himself with extraordinary

[1] Evelyn's Works. Correspondence, Vol. iv.

[2] The facts related in the following narrative are chiefly derived from a work entitled "The late Troubles in England." See also Carte's "Life of Ormond."

prudence for a boy of such tender years (he being at this time little more than fourteen). He replied to the Abbot's solicitations, by asking how he dared make this attempt upon him, knowing, as he well did, that the Queen, his mother, had engaged to the King, his brother, that no change should be made in his religion. He observed that, for his own part, he was resolved not to incur the King's displeasure by acting contrary to his command, which was—not to listen to any argument for effecting any alteration in his sentiments. He also indignantly rejected the specious proposals of making him a Cardinal, and promising to advance him to be King of England, and complained that he had been disingenuously dealt with by such importunities in the absence of his tutor, whom the King had placed over him, and who, he doubted not, could readily refute the Abbot's arguments. Mr. Lovel did this so fully, on his return from Paris, as to silence all opposition for the time.

Soon afterwards, the Duke was taken back to Paris, and was permitted to attend, as heretofore, the King's chapel. But he was not long allowed to enjoy the free exercise of his religion; for, after some little time, the Queen avowed that the attempt made to convert her son to the Catholic faith was with her sanction and concurrence, as she was anxious that the right road to Heaven should be pointed out to him; admitting, however, her promise that he should not be forced to pursue it.

With the view of carrying her design into effect, his

Protestant tutor was put from him, and the young Prince was hastily hurried from Paris, in order to be deprived of the advice and assistance of any Protestant, although he earnestly desired to remain there till he could get some warmer clothing. He was conveyed to the house of Mr. Crofts (afterwards Lord Crofts), but under the direction of Abbot Mountague, none of his servants, except young Griffin, being permitted to attend him.

On hearing this, all the Protestant exiles then in Paris were deeply grieved, but no one more so than that eminent sufferer from his loyalty to the royal family and zeal for the Protestant religion — Lord Hatton. No sooner did this nobleman learn how the young Prince had been persecuted, than he consulted with Dr. John Cosens (at that time Dean of Peterborough and Chaplain to his Majesty), then residing at Paris. He also drew up some instructions and arguments to fortify the Duke in his religion. Knowing how strictly he was guarded from the access of any Protestant, he nevertheless determined to pay him a visit, being related, by marriage, to the Abbot. His design, however, was soon surmised; and, though he obtained access to the Duke, he was so vigilantly watched, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could, unperceived, convey to him the instructions he had prepared for him, and he was forced to vary his stratagems to keep up a correspondence with him from time to time.

So narrowly was the Duke eyed by the Popish spies set over him, the priests being with him all day, in-

cessantly importuning him to change his religion, that he had no opportunity to peruse any of the papers given him.

Under these circumstances, he delivered them to his faithful servant, Griffin, who, in the night-time, as he lay in his bed-chamber, acquainted him with their contents. The young Prince was now more determined than ever to resist the machinations of his persecutors, who thereupon resolved not only to remove Mr. Griffin from him, but also to imprison the Duke in the Jesuits' College.

King Charles, being advised of these shameful proceedings to influence his younger brother, by some cordial Protestants, determined to render him all the assistance in his power, and sent an expostulatory letter to the Queen, his mother,[1] and also commands to all his most eminent Protestant subjects in Paris, to aid and protect to their utmost the young and persecuted Prince. Some days before he was to be removed to the Jesuits' College, Sir George Radcliffe endeavoured to deliver the following letter to him from the King (his brother); but, although admitted into his presence, he could not with privacy do so, but was compelled to leave it in the hands of young Griffin, with directions to give it to him.

"Cologne, November 10, 1654.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I have received yours without a date, in which you tell me that Mr. Montague has endeavoured to

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 166.

pervert you from your religion; I do not doubt but you remember very well the commands I left with you, at my going away, concerning that point. I am confident you will observe them; yet, your letters that come from Paris say, that it is the Queen's purpose to do all she can to change your religion, in which, if you do hearken to her, or to any body else, in that matter, you must never think to see England or me again; and, whatsoever mischief shall fall on me, or my affairs, from this time, I must lay all upon you, as being the only cause of it. Therefore, consider well what it is to be not only the cause of ruining a brother who loves you so well, but also of your King and country. Do not let them persuade you, either by force or fair promises; the first, they neither dare, nor will use; and, for the second, as soon as they have perverted you, they will have their end, and then they will care no more for you.

"I am also informed, there is a purpose to put you into the Jesuits' College, which I command you, on the same grounds, never to consent unto; and, whensoever anybody goes to dispute with you in religion, do not answer them at all. For, though you have reason on your side, yet they, being prepared, will have the advantage of anybody that is not upon the same familiarity with argument as they are.

"If you do not consider what I say unto you, remember the last words of your dead father, which were, to be constant to your religion, and never to be

shaken in it; which, if you do not observe, this shall be the last time you will hear from,

"Dear Brother,

"Your most affectionate

"CHARLES II."[1]

It was with inexpressible joy that the Duke received his brother's letter. Instantly transcribing a copy of it, he forthwith sent it to the Queen, his mother, soliciting her permission to come to Paris, both on account of the commands of the King, and the news of his brother, the Duke of York's having returned from the French Army. In reply to this, her Majesty sent him word that she could not cease wishing his so great and eternal good as the change of his religion, to which, however, she would not force him, but advised him to listen to what Abbot Mountague should further discourse with him, which was, that he should howsoever be willing to go to the Jesuits' College, where he should have liberty in all things he could desire. To this College it was still designed to have forced the young Prince, had this resolve not been prevented by the timely arrival of the Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Ormond.

Charles was deeply concerned to hear of the trying and difficult position of his brother, and was solicitous

[1] Evelyn's Works, Vol. iv. pp. 142-3. Monarchy Revived, pp. 182-3. This letter furnishes special evidence of the hypocrisy of the young King, and the extent to which he could carry it, when he had a political object to gain; for Charles, be it remembered, was a secret Catholic. He also wrote to the Duke of York, to the same effect.

to rescue him from the hands of his unremitting persecutors. The Duke of Ormond, who had always proved himself a great and loyal subject, was attending him in Germany at this period, and proffered his services to go to Paris, and bring back with him the Duke of Gloucester. It was objected by the King, how great a hazard it would be to his person, at so ill a season of the weather, to take so long and dangerous a journey, just upon the withdrawing of the armies into winter-quarters, the soldiers having beset all the ways so that no person could pass without much peril. But that noble Lord, who had lost a vast estate, and often hazarded his life in the services he had rendered the King and in defence of the Protestant religion, was not to be deterred from any attempt to do the like in future. He therefore most earnestly pressed his Majesty for permission to go, as well as for his letters, and instructions to carry with him. Charles, at length, assented, and his Lordship made all possible expedition on his journey to Paris. Four days later, and he would have arrived too late, for the Duke would certainly have been shut up in the Jesuits' College, from which there would have been no means of extricating him, since the French Court had so zealously espoused the affair, that his Lordship was necessitated to exert all his prudence, in order to accomplish the object of his mission.

On his arrival at the Palais Royal, his Lordship so successfully pursued his instructions as to procure for the Duke full liberty to return to Paris, and enjoy the free exercise of his religion. But, going some time

after to the French Court, both the Queen-mother of France, and Cardinal Mazarine, pressed him, with all the allurements they thought might prevail upon him, to turn Roman Catholic, telling him they looked on him as a child of France; that it was only for his own advantage and the opportunity they should thereby have of highly doing him good, that induced them to move him thereto; adding, that, since his father was dead, he ought to obey his mother in all things she commanded. Steadfast, however, in his faith, and obedient to his brother's instructions, he replied only in general terms, "That he was resolved to obey his mother as much as any son could, and ought to do." This remarkable reply of the young Prince put an end to all further importunities at that moment.

All the temptations held out by the French Court, and the severities of his mother, however, could not in the least shake his firmness in religion. On perceiving this, her Majesty was highly indignant, and some few days afterwards declared to him, with all the sweetness imaginable, the great and tender affection she felt for him, and how deeply it grieved her that the love she had for him should compel her to proceed with such seeming severity; observing, she presumed he was weary of it, and truly she was so, too. She urged upon him the great good she designed for him, the duty he owed her, as well as the disability of the King, his brother, to maintain him, and terminated her discourse by commanding him to withdraw to his lodging, and there give one more hearing to Abbot Mountague, then to shut himself up for a

while, and seriously meditate over what both had said to him; and that night either to send or bring her a full and final answer.

On first hearing of this private interview, which was to take place with his mother, he had previously sent Mr. Griffin to the Marquis of Ormond, desiring his presence and advice how to deport himself on the occasion as circumstances might arise. His trusty messenger, however, failed to meet with the Marquis immediately. In the meantime, the Abbot called upon the Duke at his lodging, whither he had gone in obedience to his mother's command, and fully expatiated upon what the Queen had briefly hinted to him, pressing him for his final answer, which the Duke refused to give until he had first consulted with his friend and counsellor. The Abbot then withdrew, requesting to be sent for so soon as the Marquis should arrive, saying he would call again in an hour's time.

The Marquis soon afterwards attended the youthful Prince, who, after a little consultation with him, fully made up his mind as to what reply he should give. But, having been so long harassed with incessant importunities, and wishing to take a little relaxation, he neglected to send for the Abbot, and went out of his lodging into the court, to divert himself. No sooner, however, had he left, than the Abbot came, and not finding, went in quest of him. At length, meeting him, he severely reprimanded the Duke for disobeying his mother's commands, as well as his (the Abbot's) instructions. To this, the Duke replied, "I have seri-

ously considered on all that hath been said to me, and my final answer is, I am resolved to continue firm in my religion."

"Then," rejoined the Abbot, "I am commanded by the Queen, your mother, to tell you, that she charges you to see her face no more!"

The young Prince appeared to be deeply moved at this harsh message from his royal parent, and earnestly entreated to be permitted to beg her parting blessing till he could prevail for her pardon. This, however, he could not obtain, though he endeavoured to do so again[1] the next morning, being Sunday, before her Majesty went to her devotions, by the intercession of his brother, the Duke of York, who, with much earnestness pleaded in his behalf. The Queen remained inexorable to all who spoke in favour of the young Prince. Nor would she intimate her pleasure to him by any other person than Abbot Mountague, who again renewed his importunities, aggravating the peril of his mother's displeasure, and advising him to address her at that very moment, she being on her way to mass at her monastery, the more particularly as she had proposals to make to him, which would set his heart at rest, though he could not then name them. To this, the Duke replied, "Then I can; for my heart can have no rest but in the free exercise of my religion, but I fear her propositions will not. I am sure yours never tended to give me any ease or quiet."

[1] The Late Troubles in England. See also Carte's Life of Ormond, p. 166.

As he said this, the Queen passing by in her coach, the Duke approached, and attempted to beg her blessing, but was with great indignation rejected. On this, the Abbot observing he was much disconcerted, came up to him, and asked "what it was her Majesty had said to him which caused him such inquietude?" He briefly replied, "What she said, I may thank you for, Sir, and it is but reason. What my mother, therefore, said to me, I shall say *to you*—be sure that I see *your* face no more!" whereupon he turned and walked away. The Abbot now called after him, and said, "Whither are you going, good Sir?" The Duke, looking over his shoulder, said, "to Church," to which he went with a sad and dejected countenance. The congregation were much pleased to see him in company with his brother, the Duke of York; but, when they learned that, after the sermon, he was to seek where to get a dinner, their joy was much abated. It appears his mother had strictly prohibited the officers of her Court to furnish him with any provisions, or other necessaries.

That same night, after evening-prayer, he hoped to enjoy a little satisfaction by conversing with his sister, the Princess Henrietta, (afterwards Duchess of Orleans) during his mother's absence. No sooner did the young Princess hear of his arrival than she gave way to shrieks and tears, exclaiming, "Oh God, my brother! O me! my mother! I am undone for ever, what shall I do?"[1]

As soon as the Duke heard this, he retired, being unwilling that his sister should, by her kindness to

[1] The Late Troubles in England, p. 437.

him, incur the Queen's displeasure. In this disconsolate condition, he returned to his lodging, where, at nine at night, his groom came to inquire what he should do with his horses, as the Queen's comptroller had come to him with a charge to remove them instantly.

The following day, the sheets were taken off his bed.[1] Finding, therefore, that he could no longer be permitted to remain at the Palais Royal, he thought, until he could provide necessaries for his journey into Germany, of retiring to the house of Mr. Crofts, near Paris. The Queen, hearing of this intention, rebuked Mr. Crofts for being willing to receive him, of which he informed the Duke, who thereupon applied for advice to that faithful servant to his family, and zealous Protestant, Lord Hatton. Having made known to that nobleman that he had not only been turned out of his mother's house, but that all persons who had any dependancy on her were forbidden to receive or assist him, his Lordship gave him a most cordial reception and hearty welcome.

With great modesty, the young Prince at first seemed to decline his Lordship's proffered hospitality, urging the risk he might run of having his estate in England again sequestered,[2] and likewise of incurring the displeasure of the French Court, as well as that of the Queen, his mother, his being exiled from France for his kindness to him as he had before been from England for serving his father, and of the possibility of his per-

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond. [2] Ib. Vol. ii. pp. 166-7.

son being in danger from the rabble, animated by some enraged Papists, for thus disappointing them of making a proselyte of him, as they boasted they had done, and given public thanks for the same in various of their churches.

His Lordship overcame the scruples of the young Prince, by assuring him that, as he had spent the greater part of his life and fortune in his devotion to his Highness's royal family, and in defence of the Protestant religion, he would willingly sacrifice the remainder of both on so honourable occasion as the present. With this hearty invitation, the Duke was so well pleased that he took no further thought of whither he should go, assenting to remain with his Lordship. After his departure from the Palace, the Queen-mother of France repaired thither, to try again, as it was thought, if she could prevail with him to change his religion. As soon as she came, she sent her second son, the Duke of Anjou (afterwards Duke of Orleans), to visit him, who returned with the news that he was not to be found: and, on learning that he was at Lord Hatton's house, she sent the then Marquis (afterwards Duke of Plessis) to persuade him to comply with his mother's advice, to effect which he exercised all his eloquence with great earnestness, urging that, since the death of his father, the Queen, his mother, had sole power and authority over him, and disputing whether the King, his brother, as his Sovereign, had equal authority to dispose of him.

The Marquis of Ormond and the Lord Hatton, then

present, argued in defence of the Duke, whereupon the French Marquis, in a great passion, returned without the success anticipated to the Palais Royal, where the French Queen stayed very late till he came back. When both Queens heard his report, they then were fully convinced that the Duke would remain firm to his religion. After this, little or no attempt was made to induce him to change his sentiments, and he continued for nearly two months very nobly entertained by the Lord Hatton, until, through the Marquis of Ormond's and his Lordship's interest, necessaries could be provided for his rejoining his brother in Germany. It is said that the Marquis nobly sold the last jewel he possessed, which was no other than the Order of the Garter, to provide the young and persecuted Prince with the necessaries of life.[1]

The Queen's disgraceful conduct towards her youngest son, rendered her exceedingly unpopular among the faithful adherents of her late husband, who consequently conceived for her the greatest detestation.

On hearing of these proceedings on the part of Henrietta, the Princess of Orange and the Queen of Bohemia were highly indignant, and urged Charles II. to send for his brother, Gloucester, and take him under his charge. No sooner did Charles receive this letter than he acted upon it, and again wrote to his mother, demanding that the young Prince, as his subject, should be rendered up to him. The Queen felt

[1] Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, Vol. viii. p. 209. 1st Edition, 1845.

that she had no alternative but to acquiesce, and allowed him to take his departure about the middle of December, 1654.

The Duke having called at the Hague to visit his sister of Orange, that Princess accompanied him to Cologne. Charles, to divert his mind, it is said, from dwelling on his disastrous affairs, made an excursion of pleasure, incognito, to the famous fair at Frankfort, with his brother and sister, Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Neuberg, and other persons of distinction. Wherever they passed in their progress, partly by land, partly by water, up the Rhine, they were treated with all the demonstrations of respect usually paid to royalty. The Elector of Mentz, in particular, sent his Grand-Marshal to invite them to his Court, and Charles promised to accept his civility as he returned from Frankfort.

In that city, he learned that the eccentric Christina, Queen of Sweden, who, in the preceding year, had voluntarily resigned her crown to her cousin, Charles-Gustavus, and had since resided chiefly at Brussels, intended to pass that way to Italy. He thereupon sent one of his lords to signify his desire to wait upon her Majesty at such place as she should be pleased to appoint. The Queen fixed upon Königstein, a village not far from Frankfort, as the place for the interview. There, these two potentates without kingdoms accordingly met, and conferred together in private, for nearly an hour; the Duke of Gloucester was then admitted to the Queen's presence, and then the Elector-Palatine

and his brother, Prince Rupert, who had come thither from Heidelberg for the purpose, and afterwards the lords in attendance on Charles. Christina, who, like Charles, was a secret Catholic, continued her journey, without delay, for Italy. The King, on his return from Frankfort, paid his promised visit to the Elector of Mentz, by whom he was most honourably entertained; and, soon after his arrival at Cologne, the Princess of Orange departed for Holland. Echard thus describes his habits and pursuits at this time: "He now betook himself, with great cheerfulness, to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with singular satisfaction, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet, which he employed in reading and studying both the French and Italian authors, and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, and sometimes rode into the fields; and, in the whole, he spent his time both to his real benefit and his public reputation."

It was now more than ever to his interest to maintain his dignity, and to stand well with the world, in order to entitle himself to respect—an element conducive to the recovery of his lost rights. He was secretly, however, actuated by a love of pleasure, and wasted his time in idle pursuits. It appears that he was partial to the diversion of field-sports. In a letter dated 22nd of December, 1654, the writer says, "Of news, here is nothing almost at present. R. C. goes a-hunting every day, the weather being favour-

able. He was yesterday, with a few in company, from morning till three of the clock in the afternoon a-hunting, and went about twelve English miles, but killed only one hare all the time.[1]

Charles was particularly fond of music and dancing, which had served to beguile the greater part of his time at Spa; whilst at Cologne, he thus writes to his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia.

"Collen, Aug. 6, 1655.

"MADAME,

"I am just now begining this letter in my sister's chamber, where there is such a noise that I never hope to end it, and much less write sense. For what concerns my sister's journey, and the accidents that happened on the way, I leave to her to give your Ma^ty an account of. I shall only tell your Ma^ty that we are now thinking how to pass our time, and in the first place of dancing, in which we find two difficulties, the one for want of fiddlers, the other for somebody both to teach and assist us at the dancing the new dances, and I have got my sister to send for Silvius, as one that is able to perform both; for the fideldedies, my Lord Taafe doth promise to be there convoy, and in the meantime we must content ourselves, with those that make no difference between a hymn and a coranto. I have now received my sister's picture that my dear cousin, the Princess Louise, was pleased to draw, and do desire your Ma^ty to thank her for me, for

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. iii. p. 19.

'tis a most excellent picture, which is all I can say at present, but that I am,

"Madame,
"Your Ma^ties most humble
"& affectionate nephew
"& servant,
"CHARLES R."[1]

The young King now thought it high time to "study fashions to adorn his body." He thus writes to Henry Bennett, at Paris: "My clothes are at last come, and I like them very well, all but the sword, which is the worst I ever saw: I suspect very much that it was you who made the choice." The following month he again writes, "I would have you bring me two beaver hats. For my Lord Bristol's sword, I do by no means like it; therefore do not bespeak mine of that fashion."

During his stay at Cologne, feeling that the sentiments of the Duke of Albemarle were favourable to monarchy, Charles addressed to him the following letter:—

"Cologne, August 12th, 1655, N.S.

"One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection for me, and resolve to express it upon reasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all wait patiently for that oppor-

[1] Lansdowne MSS., No. 1236, p. 106

tunity, which may be offered sooner than you expect; when it is, let it find you ready; and, in the mean time, have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the part you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards your very affectionate friend,

"CHARLES REX."[1]

On the receipt of this letter, Monk sent a copy of it to Cromwell, who had, for some time, suspected his fidelity, considering that it would remove the distrust evinced by the Protector; while, on the other hand, there was nothing in it to injure the cause of the exiled King.

On the 23d of October, 1655, a treaty of peace was concluded between Cromwell and France. Great rejoicings took place at Paris, by bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy. One consequence of this treaty with the great usurper was a rupture with Spain; and another was the removal from France of the Duke of York, agreeably to the stipulations of that treaty. The Duke was unwilling to leave the French service, in which he had made four campaigns with great distinction, and in which he held lucrative appointments, especially as he had accepted the post of Captain-General under the Duke of Modena, who was Commander-in-Chief of the forces of France and her allies in Piedmont. Charles, however, insisted on his relinquishing these advantages, and leaving that service.

[1] Life of Dr. Barwick, Appendix.

In June, 1655, a memorial was presented by the Marquis of Ormond to the Duke of Neuberg, to induce him to use his influence with the King of Spain to enter into an alliance with Charles. His Catholic Majesty, who was now at war with Cromwell, conceiving, probably, that the King's interest might be of some advantage to him, directed his natural son, Don John, of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, to invite Charles into his territories.

The Princess Mary of Orange paid her mother a visit early in the year 1656, notwithstanding the objections of Charles the Second, who was averse to his sister's visiting France at a time when that country was in opposition to his interests.

On the 18th of February, the Queen thus writes to her eldest son:—

"My Son,

"By your last letter, I see that you are expecting news from Spain. I hope they will be according to your desires, since war is declared with Cromwell. I also expect their arrival with all imaginable impatience. I pray God they may be according to your desires. Your sister will tell you of all that is done here. I think she is very weary of visitors from morning till evening. She has enough for me, too. I am almost dead with them; but you, who know France, know well enough that, after the first influx, there is rest enough. This is my hope."[1]

[1] Lambeth MSS. Article 103.

Charles accepted the offer of Don John, and Bruges was assigned for his residence. He also granted to the King and his brother a pension of £9,000 sterling per annum, but it was badly paid; and, as his allowance from France was now cut off, he was often reduced to great straits.

Before the removal of Charles from Cologne, a fresh instance of that sanguinary disposition which possessed his partizans was exhibited. I shall give it in the words of the author by whom I find it related. "One of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Captain Manning by name), discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels, being found out, was, by his Majesty's command, sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousness, one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to order) pistolled him as he was alighting out of the coach at the castle-gate, giving him," adds the approving writer, "less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery."[1]

The promises of Spain, though not most scrupulously fulfilled, served to raise the spirits of the King, and made him talk of what he would do.

"Charles Stuart," says Thurloe, in a letter to Montague, dated March 25, 1656, "is come into Flanders, and speaks much of the prizes he will take wherewith to maintain war against us."[2] He accordingly with

[1] History of King Charles II., by a Person of Quality, p. 180.

[2] Ormond Papers, Vol. ii. p. 97.

his little Court quitted Cologne, where he had resided more than two years, and took up his residence at Bruges.

In another letter to the same, dated April 28, 1656, he tells him :—"The pretended King is at Bruges, and hath been treating with the Archduke. Something he hath obtained, as liberty of their ports to exercise his piracy in, and a promise to be supplied with men and money to begin an invasion with. He, on his part, puts his person and his cause into the hands of the King of Spain, to be managed by him, and hath declared himself in private to them to be a Roman Catholic, as they call it. But the full conclusion of their treaty is deferred until the arrival of Don John, who will be there in a few days, if he be not already come."

Don John accordingly arrived, and Charles made a further treaty with him, whereby he engaged to call all his subjects out of the French or any other service, and to draw them together under his own command in Flanders for the assistance of Spain. "Upon this treaty," says Carte, "his Majesty was presently paid 300 crowns a-month—a great supply to a Prince who had not in a whole year before received £2,000 from all his friends in England."[1] "But the Spaniards wanted money," the same writer tells us, "and the payments he was to receive from them were not so duly made as his own necessities and those of his servants required. The Marquis of Ormond passed most of the winter at

[1] Life of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 172.

Brussels, soliciting this and other particulars of his Majesty's affairs, being himself straitened, as many gentlemen who followed the King's fortune were utterly at a loss for supplies. One of these, a Scotch knight, of the name of Maxwell, lodged in the house of a burgher of the town, who, being zealously affected to the King's cause, gave him his lodging and diet *gratis*. This seasonable hospitality and kindness in his distress could not, on all occasions, keep down the Scots gentleman's passions; he quarrelled with his honest landlord, and swore he would never eat with him more. He kept his word for a whole day, fasting all that time; but it not agreeing over well with his constitution, he consulted with his friend, the Marquis of Ormond, what he should do. 'Really,' said the Marquis, with great gravity, 'all the advice I can give in your case is, to go to your lodging, first eat your words, and then your supper.'"[1]

That the circumstances of the English in Flanders were really very bad, is apparent from a letter of the Duke of York to his brother, dated Sept. 27, in which he says: "I presse Don John every day for something for the English that are come over, but can gett nothing yett but promises of monys for them, which shall not want solliciting till I gett it."[2] Hyde also, in a letter to Ormond, dated Brussels, Oct. 25, 1656, writes as follows: "Of the ease and plenty we are in, I need say little to you, when I tell you that we have not yet

[1] Life of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 174, fol. London, 1736.
[2] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 668.

received a dollar since you went, which I hope you will cause to be pressed; and I pray you remember your own particuler, for your debts here make a great noise."[1] On the 8th of November following, he repeats the complaint. "I am sure," says he, "we are all without a dollar, and have been long: and they who have neither money nor credit are like to keep a very cold Christmas; which must be our case if we do not hear from you before that time."[2] The distress still continued. On the 6th December, therefore, he desired Ormond that, if there was any money which might without noise be disposed of, he would remember him, that he might pay those debts, and repair what is worn out: "besides, I must tell you," he adds, "my wife is ready to lie in, and all things wanting."[3]

Promises were given of powerful assistance, but the Spaniards would risk nothing in his favour. Thurloe after writing that the full conclusion of the treaty was deferred till the arrival of Don John, adds: "In the mean time, Charles Stuart hath, on his part, assured his friends here of great supplies and advantages by his conjunction with the Spaniards, and begs money of them for his support but for two months, and then he shall be able to answer their expectation, and pursue his and their interests in having, besides his own party, fully agreed with the Levellers, who are also to fight under the flag of Spain, from whom they have got a great sum of money to raise forces here, a good part

[1] Ormond Papers, Vol. ii. p. 240.
[2] Ibid. p. 259. [3] Ibid. p. 289.

whereof is fallen, through the goodness of God, into our hands, so that I speak not at guess in this business. The person whom they had made their treasurer here, and in whose hands we found the money, is a seaman and a great confident of Lawson's, and those who deserted their commands: and it is certain that this money was given by the Spaniard upon this undertaking of Sexby, that the fleet with you should not revolt before they went from Portsmouth."[1] In another letter, to Montague, dated Aug. 28, 1656, Thurloe says: "I should have told you before of the great amity which is contracted between the King of Spain and Charles Stuart. Charles hath put himself into his hands, and is obliged, in his endeavours for his restitution, to be wholly guided by the King of Spain. Charles is now raising some regiments in Flanders of the runnagade Irish, English, and Scotch, to invade us with; and they say we are to expect him before December."[2]

Early in the spring of 1657, Charles removed with his Court to Brussels. Soon afterwards, he repaired to the Spanish head-quarters at Dunkirk, to solicit Don John respecting his private affairs, and also to remind him of promises which he had made relative to England.

The regiments before alluded to consisted of about 2,000 men, whom Charles, deterred by the failure of all the plots of his partizans in England from any thoughts of a landing there, allowed, upon request, to join the forces of the King of Spain. They were commanded

[1] Ormond Papers, Vol. ii. p. 109. [2] Ibid p. 113.

by the Duke of York. Cromwell, on the other hand, had sent, agreeably to treaty,[1] 6,000 foot into Flanders to assist the French against the Spaniards; and these auxiliaries rendered good service in the reduction of several places, especially the fortress of Mardike; which the Spaniards, deeming it of great importance to the keeping of Dunkirk, resolved, if possible, to regain. Accordingly, the place was assaulted by night with much resolution and courage; but, after a conflict of six hours, the assailants were obliged to retire. Charles is said to have behaved in a very gallant manner on this occasion, and it was currently reported at Paris that he had been severely wounded; which, however, did not prove to be the case. Ormond, who was with the King, had his horse killed under him by a cannon-ball.

The most important event of the campaign in the following year was the reduction of Dunkirk, to which the French army, under Turenne, united with the English troops, commanded by Colonel Lockhart, then laid siege. The Spanish army, under Don John of Austria, assisted by the Duke of York, who was accompanied by his brother of Gloucester, made an attempt to raise the siege, but were routed with great slaughter,

[1] One of the conditions of this treaty was, that the young and unfortunate princes (the sons of Charles I.) should be expelled from France, which had hospitably afforded them an asylum, and that no assistance should be given them. To almost all the stipulations, Cardinal Mazarine assented, with the view of securing the powerful co-operation of Cromwell in the war with Spain, then going on in Flanders.

in spite of the gallant conduct of Charles's troops, few of whom escaped. Among these were his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester; though the former was not heard of till three days afterwards, whence it was surmised that he had been taken by the French, and secretly dismissed, on a fit opportunity, by Marshal Turenne, who, while he was in the service of France, had always manifested a strong attachment to him.[1]

Dunkirk, a most important place, as well as Mardike, were, according to treaty, delivered by the French King and Cardinal Mazarine in person, to the commander of the English troops attached to their army, on the 25th of June, 1658—a proceeding that called forth the execration of the whole French nation.

[1] The Queen, as might naturally be supposed, was very uneasy as to the fate of her sons. Lord Jermyn, alluding to this circumstance, writes:—"She hath passed her time as ill as you can imagine."

CHAPTER II.

Secret visit of Charles to his sister.—A remarkable visitor.—The Duke of York falls in love with Anne Hyde.—Court of the young King at Bruges.—His intimacy with Mrs. Barlow, otherwise Lucy Walter.—Her examination.—Her son, James Crofts, afterwards Duke of Monmouth.—Charles reputed to be his father.—Question as to the King's marriage with his mother.—His other mistresses, while abroad.—Viligant eye kept over his movements.—Career of Cromwell from the battle of Worcester until his death.—Charles proposes for a daughter of the Princess-Dowager of Orange.—Abdication of Richard Cromwell.—Reflected upon as a weak man.—The people clamorous for a free Parliament.—A general rising in favour of the Royalists put down.—Treachery of Sir Richard Willis.—Sir George Booth taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower.—Charles proceeds to Dieppe.—His conference with the Spanish Minister at Fontarabia.—Attends the Catholic worship in that place.—Rejoins his brother at Paris.—Munificent offer of Marshal Turenné.—The young King returns to Brussels.

SOON after his return from the borders of Spain, Charles set out for Brussels, whence he proceeded on a secret visit to his sister, the Princess of Orange, then resident at the Hague. He was

accompanied by Fleming, a faithful attendant. Entering a small inn in that town, he despatched his follower to his sister, to contrive an interview. On his return, the landlord informed them that a stranger desired to be admitted. Signifying his assent, the young King was surprised by the appearance of a venerable man with a long grey beard, who requested a private audience; upon which Charles desired Fleming to retire, which he did with some reluctance, out of regard for the King's safety.

No sooner had he left the room, than the stranger cautiously bolted the door; then fell on his knees, and divested himself of his disguise; when, to the King's utter astonishment, he recognised the features of Sir George Downing, Ambassador from Cromwell to the States-General. After expressing his feelings of devotion and loyalty, and enjoining Charles to the most inviolable secrecy, he told him, that in accordance with a secret treaty just entered into between Cromwell and the Dutch, the latter had guaranteed that, should Charles ever set foot within the territory of the States, he should be immediately seized, and delivered over to the Usurper, who had extraordinary means of acquainting himself with everything that occurred. He then urged Charles instantly to quit the Dutch dominions; and, so soon as he was in safety, he would require of the States, according to the terms of the late treaty, that the King's person should be seized. On receiving this startling piece of information, Charles returned to Brussels.[1]

The Duke of York, after serving in the Spanish service against Cromwell, who afterwards attacked the Spanish Netherlands, paid a visit, in company with his sister, to his mother, the Queen, at Paris. It was on this occasion that he fell in love with Anne Hyde, of whom he thus rapturously speaks in his Memoirs: "Besides her person, she had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less apt to take fire than his, and she brought his passion to such a height, that, between the time he first saw her and the winter before the King's Restoration, he resolved to marry none but her, and promised her to do it. The King, to whom he confided his passion, refused his consent, and dissuaded his brother from the marriage, which made him conceal it for several months."[1]

Respecting the private life of Charles during his residence at Bruges and Brussels, the Thurloe Papers furnish valuable indications. Notwithstanding the important affairs which demanded his attention, but which were left entirely to his ministers; notwithstanding his own continual necessities, and the yet more pressing wants of his servants, he was still the thoughtless, indolent, gay, and profligate man of pleasure. "He passed his time at Bruges," says Sir M. Vernett, "with shooting and other such obscure pastimes, not so much as taken notice of."

ment written in his own hand, by Lockhart, author of "The Memoirs," in his copy of Clarendon's Rebellion. See Jesse's interesting "Memoirs of the Court of England," Vol. iii. pp. 294-7.

[1] Autograph Life of James II., pp. 15—21.

There was not much to censure in this, but what follows is less reputable to the King and his attendants. It is contained in a letter from Mr. J. Butler, dated Flushing, Dec. 2nd, 1656. "Charles Stuart's Court groweth very numerous. This last week, one of the richest churches in Bruges was plundered in the night. The people of Bruges are fully persuaded that Charles Stuart's followers had done it. They spare no charges to find out the guilty; and, if it happen to light upon any of Charles Stuart's train, it will certainly incense that people against them. There is now a company of French comedians at Bruges, who are very punctually attended by Charles Stuart and his Court and all the ladies there: their most solemn day of acting is on the Lord's Day. I think I may truly say that greater abominations were never practised among people than at this day at Charles Stuart's Court. Fornication, drunkenness, and adultery, are esteemed no sins among them; so that I perswade myself God will never prosper any of their attempts. He who was Bishop of Londonderry [Bramball] in Ireland is now at Bruges; when he preacheth, which is but seldom, he thunders out cruel execrations against the Lord Protector and the State of England."[1]

This is evidently the testimony of a Republican. In August, 1658, Mr. Kingstoun, a zealous Royalist, in a letter from Paris, remarks on Charles's conduct in these terms: "Shall I believe that the King, who, by driving out of Cullen [Cologne] a person who gave

[1] Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 645.

his enemies a subject of discourse, acquired without doubt grace from Heaven, and an advantageous esteem among men, is now misled so farre as that the King of France should have cause to say openly that the King of England, in his opinion, should rather with tears seek to appease the wrath of God, expressed in depriving him of his kingdoms (and that he would do it if he were in his case), than follow his amours at Bruxells? This comes from one that heard the King of France speak it. Lord Auberry tould me that some relate this to 100 339 5 19 225; but sure that is an invention, perhaps to defame her, and put her at a distance with Lorain, for some reasons best known to themselves; but others speak of amours to which he is ledd by some about him. If it be so, I wish them hang'd for their pains."[1]

It is supposed that the person mentioned by Mr. Kingstoun, as driven away from Cologne, was Mrs. Barlow, of whom we find an account in two letters of Daniel O'Neile's to Charles himself. In the first, dated Hague, 8 Feb., 1656, he says: "I have hitherto forborne giving your Majesty any account of your commands concerning Mrs. Barloe, because those that I imployed to her brought me assurances from her she would obey your Majesty's commands. Of late, I am tould she intends nothing less, and that she is assured from Collen your Majesty would not have her son from her. I am much troubled to see the prejudice her being here does your Majesty; for every idle action of

[1] Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 325.

hers brings your Majesty upon the stage; and I am no less ashamed to have so much importuned your Majesty to have believed her worthy your care. When I have the honour to wayte upon your Majesty, I shall tell you what I have from a midwyf of this toune, and one of her mayds, which she had not the discretione to use well after knowing so much of her secrets."

On the 14th of the same month, he proceeds to inform him, that "before he took the liberty to write anything to him of Mrs. Barloe, he did sufficiently inform himself of the truth of what he writ; since," he adds, "I had the opportunity to save her from publick scandall att least. Her mayd, whom she would have killed by thrusting a bodkin into her eare, ass she was asleep, would have accused her of that, of miscarrying of two children by phissick, and of the infamous manner of her living with Mr. Howard; but I have prevented the mischief, partly with threats, but more with a 100 gilders I am to give her mayd. Her last miscarriage was since Mrs. Howard went, ass the midwyf says to one that I imploy to hir. Doctor Rusuf has given her phissick, but it was allways after hir miscarrying; and though he knew anything, it would bee indiscreet to tell it. Therefore, I would not attempt him, and the rather that I was sufficiently assured by those that were neerer. Though I have saved her for this time, it's not likely she'll escape when I am gone: for onely the consideration of your Majesty has held Mons. Heenuleit and Mons. Nertwick not to have her banished this toune and country for an infamous person, and by

sound of drum. Therefore, it were well if your Majesty will owen this chyld, to send hir your positive command to deliver him unto whome your Majesty shall appoint. I know it from one who has read my Lord Taff's letter to her of the 11th, by this last post, that he tells hir your Majesty has noething more in consideration than hir sufferings; and that the next money you can gett, or borrow, shall be sent to supply hir. Whyle your Majesty encourages any to speak this language, shee'le never obey what you will have; the only way is to necessitat hir, if your Majesty can think hir worth your care."[1]

This lady, whose real name was [Lucy] Walter, with her brother, the above-named Mr. Howard, and her maid, Ann Hill, were afterwards seized in England, and separately examined. In the information of the servant, taken upon oath, on the 26th day of June, 1656, there are the following particulars: That she was servant to the Lady Walter, in Holland, about seven months; that the same lady came lately to Flushing, hiring a boat to bring herself, two children, Mr. Justus Walter, her brother, and Thomas Howard, gentlemen of the Horse to the Princess-Royal at the Hague; that she had often heard that one of the said children her said lady had by Charles Stuart, and that the said lady had no other means to maintain her but what she hath from the said Charles Stuart, although she lives in a costly and high manner; and that her brother swore to the said informant, the said lady had been

[1] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 682.

lately with the King, meaning Charles Stuart, a night and a day together." [1]

In a further information, taken the 2nd of July, Ann Hill declares, that "Mrs. Walter told her that the very same night in which she came from Antwerp, or Brussels, Charles Stuart came thither, whereupon this informant asked her in these words: Did your honour see him? to which she answered, Yes, and he saw your master, too, (meaning one of her children, who is usually called master.) And this informant saith that she knows not who came with the said lady into England, besides Justus Walter and Thomas Howard; and saith that she heard the said lady and her brother confer together about a necklace of pearl, which the lady intimated to him she had bought; and that they discoursed it must have cost about £1,500. That she heard the said lady say she had bespoke a coach, and that she would have it lined with red velvet, and have gold fringe on it, within three weeks; and said, although they lived but closely in their lodgings, yet very plentifully in clothes and diet, and had a coach to attend them continually from week to week." [2]

Mrs. Walter, who was also examined, owned she had had a child by Charles Stuart, which was dead; but said that the "two children she then had, were by a husband she had in Holland, who was also dead." [3] Mrs. Walter was soon released from the Tower by the Protector.

The son mentioned above, who was said to be Charles Stuart's, was born at Rotterdam, Apr. 9, 1649, and bore the name of James Crofts, till his Majesty's Res-

[1] Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 160. [2] Ibid. p. 178. [3] Ibid. p. 169.

toration. He was educated chiefly at Paris, under the eye of the Queen-mother and the government of Thomas Ross, and afterwards was well known by the title of the Duke of Monmouth.

We are informed by Clarendon,[1] that, on the death of his mother, at Paris, Lord Crofts got him into his charge, and had the sole tuition of him. After some years, the circumstance came to the knowledge of the Queen-mother, who frequently had him brought to her, and treated him with great kindness; and, at the King's desire, brought him to England. He was very handsome, and performed gracefully those exercises which youths of his age were then taught in France. The King received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that he should be regarded as his son, though he made no declaration to that effect. He assigned him a liberal maintenance, but neglected to provide for him a suitable education.

The officious courtiers soon set about seeking such a match for this youth as might be acceptable to their master. Lord Lauderdale recommended the only daughter of the Earl of Buccleugh, a child about ten years of age, who had inherited her father's title and extensive estates: and Albemarle, who was believed to have an eye upon this lady for his own son, was too good a courtier to oppose the proposition. The King approved it, and her mother, the Countess of Wemyss, was requested to bring her daughter to London, where the Earl of Lauderdale was trusted to negociate the

[1] History of the Reign of King Charles II.

affair. A contract was drawn up, purporting, that for want of issue by the young Countess, or in case of her death, her whole estate should devolve upon the youth who was to be her husband, and his heirs for ever, and that this should be settled by Act of Parliament in Scotland. In spite of the disapprobation expressed by the Queen-mother and the Chancellor, the King at once created the youth Duke of Monmouth.

I must not neglect to add that, according to Mr. Algernon Sidney, "Monmouth was, by the direction of Lord Crofts, brought up under the discipline of the Pères de l'Oratoire."[1]

Whether Charles was married to this Mrs. Walter was a question much agitated in the latter part of his reign. The King, it is well known, absolutely denied it; and Monmouth, in the Tower, gave it under his hand, that "his father had often told him that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his mother."[2] On the other hand, it was asserted that Mrs. Walter, at the time of her travail with the said Duke, at other times, and in her last moments, did positively declare it: that Dr. Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln, did often affirm that he married the King and Mrs. Walter; that the innkeeper at Liege made it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house, and that both he and his wife were eye and ear-witnesses of it. And it is further said that,

[1] Letters of Sidney to Henry Saville, p. 68, 8vo. London, 1742.
[2] Burnet, Vol. i. p. 649.

as there was no one person accustomed to the fellowship of the town who had not heard of such a marriage, so it was uncontroulably known that there was, in Oliver's time, a letter intercepted from the King to the same lady, then in the Tower, superscribed to his wife. Nor is it unknown," continues the writer, "with what homage the King's party in England at that time paid their devotion and testified their obedience to her. For, as they addressed her upon the knee, so by that, and many other symbols, they declared they esteemed her for no less than the lawful wife of their King and master."[1]

What stress is to be laid on the word of Charles and the lady in this affair, I leave the reader to determine from the characters of both; and indeed none of the stories adduced to prove the legitimacy of Monmouth's birth seem to have any great force to confirm it; but there are passages in letters from the Princess of Orange, the King's sister, to which some writers appear disposed to allow some greater weight. In one of these, dated Hague, 20 May, 1655, she writes:—"Your wife is resolving whether she will writ, or no: therefore I am to say nothing to you from her; but I will keepe open my letter as long as the post will permitte, to expect what good nature will worke, which I find now doth not at all, for 'tis now eleven of the clock and no letter comes."[2] In another, written from Hounslerdyke, dated 21 June, she says, "Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you, which is all she can

[1] Lord Somers' Tracts, Vol. i. p. 75, 4to. London, 1748.
[2] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 665.

say. I tell her 'tis because she thinks of another husband, and dos not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband. 'Tis a frailty, they say, is given to the sex; therefore, you will pardon her, I hope." [1]

"These expressions," observes Harris, "are odd of a mistress, though, possibly, they may not prove her to have been a wife."

It is evident that they were used only in place of employing harsher terms, which the writer might be the more disposed to spare, as she was herself reputed to be not wholly exempt from that "frailty given to the sex;" and that *she* was ready enough to pardon it in others, is apparent from the familiar terms upon which she must have been with Mrs. Barlow.

Charles had, while abroad, various mistresses besides Mrs. Walter, among whom were Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew and Mrs. Catherine Peg. By the former, he had a daughter, who died in 1684; by the latter, a son, created Earl of Plymouth, who was killed at Tangier in 1680. Some excuse for a disposition to gallantry at that period may, however, be found in his youth, his situation, which was a bar to a marriage suitable to his birth, his neglected education, and the example of other Princes, too seldom scrupulous on this point; but, though this was not among the worst of his faults, yet, as his amours were low, it is not surprising that they should expose him to the contempt of his adversaries.

The Thomas Howard, of whom we have seen anything

[1] Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 665.

but honourable mention made in the affair of Mrs. Barlow, was one of that venal crew by whom all Charles's movements and intentions were betrayed to his enemies.

Downing, the English resident in Holland, in a letter to Thurloe, dated Hague, October, 1658, writes:—"As for Charles Stuart his having been in Holland, surely you had my memorial complaining thereof, which was even at the very time when he was in Holland; and, at the very time, I had an account from one Killigrew, of his bed-chamber, of every place where he was, with his stay and company, of which also I gave you an account in mine by the last post. He vowed that it was a journey of pleasure, and that none of the States-General nor any person of note of Amsterdam came to him. Besides, I have perfectly gained Tom Howard, of Howard, Suffolk, whose papers I sent (which yet he hath noe knowledge of at all, or that I have any such things), and he assured me that it was a journey of pleasure; but withal he tells me that Hen. Germin is gone into France upon some notable business. Some think it is with propositions for a peace with Spain, which the Lord Germin is to put forward; and some do conjecture that it is the product of the visit which the Cardinal is said to have given to the little Queen [Henrietta Maria], upon the news of the death of the Lord Protector, of which I gave you an account in a late letter. I think I can hardly pitch upon one a fitter instrument than Tom Howard, he being master of the horse to the Princess Royal, and I shall endeavour to improve him."[1] This

[1] Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 418.

Mr. Howard subsequently asked from Downing £1,000 per annum, for further intelligence, as we may reasonably suppose.

The death of Cromwell elated the Royalists both at home and abroad to the highest degree. We have already noticed the leading features in his career up to the battle of Worcester, after which he returned in triumph to London, and was treated with the highest respect by the Parliament and people in general. His first care, as we have seen, was to abolish royalty in Scotland, and to annex that country, as a conquered province, to the English Commonwealth, for which purpose an Act was accordingly passed. The Scotch had the privilege, however, of sending some members to Parliament. Ireland was brought into subjection by Ireton and Ludlow. All the settlements in America, which had declared for the royal cause, were compelled to submit. Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were readily induced to yield. The British dominions having been thus reduced to perfect obedience, the Republicans next turned their eyes towards Holland, where their envoy had been assassinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Upon this outrage, and other causes of quarrel that prompted the Commonwealth to declare war against their formidable rivals for mastery on the sea, as well as upon the terrific naval battles which ensued, we have already touched. Cromwell was not slow to perceive that the Parliament dreaded, and were bent on

checking, his increasing influence; he therefore retaliated by doing all he could to inflame the army against them, so that a breach between these two factions soon became irreconcileable.

On the 20th of April, 1653, with three hundred soldiers, he hastened to the House, turned out all the members, caused the doors to be locked, and, putting the keys in his pocket, returned to Whitehall. The next Parliament met on the 4th of July, but their ridiculous and impolitic proceedings excited only the public contempt, and they were obliged to resign their authority into the hands of the usurper on the 12th of December. This shadow of a Parliament being thus dissolved, the military officers, of their own accord, declared Cromwell Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the 16th of the same month. It was ordered that he should be addressed by the title of Highness; and his power was proclaimed in London as well as throughout the kingdom.

He then took possession of Whitehall Palace, where he resided in great state and splendour. After his installation in Westminster Hall, he proceeded, with much pomp, through the city, where he was received by the mayor, with all the honours due to royalty. But it was observable that the good citizens were silent as he passed along. No joyous acclamations greeted him on the way, for the people regarded his sudden elevation with contempt.

Some weeks after this, however, he was entertained

by the city with all the honours due to royalty. Foreign ambassadors congratulated him on his position as he sat in his magnificent chair of state in the banquetting-house. The royal Palaces of Windsor and Hampton Court were also fitted up for his reception.

The Protector now rewarded his officers, took counsel with them, and paid his troops in advance, in return for their faithful services and devotion to his cause. His conduct of affairs, both at home and abroad, was for some time signally successful. In 1654, the Dutch, humiliated by repeated defeats, and totally ruined in their commerce, were compelled to sue for peace, which he granted them, on certain conditions, among others, that they should in future shew deference to the British flag, abandon the interests of the King, and pay £85,000 as an indemnification for the expenses of the war. In the following year, he also succeeded in his negociations with Cardinal Mazarine, in establishing friendly relations with France, and, in concert with that country, in humbling the power of Spain, the fleets of which were annihilated by the gallant Blake, who lived not long to enjoy his well-earned fame, expiring within sight of his native shores.

The question of conferring upon him the title of King was brought before the House in 1656, by Colonel Jephson, which the Commons appeared to entertain; and a Bill was afterwards brought into Parliament by Alderman Pack, one of the city members, for this purpose, and carried on the 9th of April, 1657.

A few days after this event, the great usurper was

waited upon by a committee of the House, to propose that he would accept the kingly office. Cromwell, in the meantime, having discovered the public feeling with regard to such a measure, and finding that the current ran strongly against it, hesitated to accept the high honour held out to him. There can be no doubt that he had himself previously set in motion the machinery to enable him to attain this grand object of his ambition, without calculating upon the discontent it would be likely to occasion. The army, whom he had himself taught to detest the very name of King, were violently opposed to his elevation to the throne, and his best friends earnestly dissuaded him from such a step. Under these circumstances, it would have been madness and folly for him to have persevered, and he deemed it prudent to reject the crown with as good a grace as may be, although bitter disappointment rankled in his heart.

Cromwell having thus most reluctantly refused the crown, was again installed in the Protectorship in Westminster Hall, on the 26th of June, 1657, with greater magnificence than before. He wore robes of purple lined with ermine; holding the sceptre in his hand during his proclamation as Lord Protector by the heralds. He gave many splendid entertainments at Whitehall and Windsor, increased the officers of his household, appointed Sir Gilbert Pickering his Lord-Chamberlain, and Claypole, his son-in-law, Master of the Horse. His assemblies were sometimes on the largest scale; and, in the course of the years 1656 and 1657,

he invited all the members of the House of Commons to dine with him in the Banquetting House at Whitehall.

The Court of Cromwell, however, presented a somewhat sombre appearance, compared to those of European monarchs, many of the nobility being proscribed, others divested of their employments, and a Puritanical affectation of manners observable, which offered a striking contrast to the splendour and gaiety to be met with at the Court of a legitimate King.[1] We are informed by De Grammont, who paid a visit to the Court of the Protector, "that his daughters resided chiefly in apartments in one of the Palaces, and such attention was shewn them by foreign Princes and States, that their ambassadors constantly paid their compliments to these ladies, both when they came into, or left the kingdom."

Cromwell was fond of hunting, and occasionally followed this diversion at Hampton Court. He was also partial to music, and kept some of the most eminent performers in his household. Notwithstanding his religious cant and affected morality, it seems he was not insensible to female attractions. It is related that he was on very intimate terms with the Countess of Lauderdale, who is supposed to have been his mistress; and she is said to have declared, after the battle of Worcester, that she had saved her husband from the block by permitting the familiarities of the Protector, who shortly discontinued his visits to her, which had been censured by the Puritans. Mrs. Lambert, a lady de-

[1] See the Count de Grammont's Memoirs.

voted to praying and psalm-singing, was another of his reputed mistresses.

Although the usurperpos sessed great natural powers, his literary attainments were but of a mean order, as may be gleaned from his letters and despatches. Shrewd, cunning, and hypocritical in the highest degree, his taste was by no means refined, and his manners exhibited an air of vulgarity in unison with this defect. One of the most striking traits in his character was the crafty mode in which he made himself master of the secrets of others; and, on discovering them, the extraordinary energy he displayed in counteracting the designs of his adversaries. Whatever transpired at the little court of Charles II. while abroad, was immediately made known to Cromwell, who once permitted a nobleman to make a trip to the continent, provided he would promise not to visit the exiled King. As soon as the traveller returned to England, Oliver asked him if he had kept his word, to which the other replied in the affirmative. "It is true," rejoined Cromwell, "that you did not *see* Charles, for, to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, and the candles were put out for that purpose." He then told him all that had taken place at this singular interview.[1]

The Protector, in fact, had spies everywhere, and is said to have expended £60,000 per year in obtaining secret intelligence. Hume states that "Postmasters, both at home and abroad, were in his pay; carriers were searched or bribed, secretaries and clerks were

[1] Wellwood, p. 111.

corrupted; the greatest zealots in all parties were often those who conveyed private information to him; and nothing could escape his vigilant inquiry."

The Earl of Orrery, at that time Lord Broghill, being on his way to the continent for the purpose of conferring with Charles II., and obtaining his authority to raise forces in Ireland with a view to restore him to the throne, was suddenly waited upon, while in London, by a gentleman, with a message from Cromwell. The visitor told his Lordship that Cromwell desired to see him before his departure. Surprised at the circumstance, Lord Broghill replied that he would not give the General the trouble to come to his lodgings, but that he would wait upon him at any hour he might appoint.

As he said this, Cromwell himself entered the room, and acquainted him that his real designs were known to the Council of State, telling him, at the same time, the true object of his journey. Lord Broghill stoutly denied such to be the case. Cromwell rejoined, that he had proofs of the fact, and could even shew him copies of his own letters, adding that the Council had given orders for his arrest and committal to the Tower, on which he had interposed, with the view of turning him from his purpose. Lord Broghill, now convinced that his intentions had been discovered, solicited Cromwell's pardon, thanked him for his kindness, and requested his advice. Hereupon, the latter proposed to him that, if he would consent to join the projected expedition to Ireland to subdue the native Irish,

he should have a general officer's command, which offer his Lordship eventually accepted, as the only alternative to his being sent to the Tower. He afterwards became a personal friend and firm adherent of the Protector.

Cromwell, it is said, was fond of practical, and sometimes revolting jokes, which he sometimes carried too far to be compatible with his own dignity. It is supposed that he frequently had recourse to a jest as a foil and diversion to the enormity of his crimes. When in a merry mood, he was accustomed to fling cushions and napkins at his friends, which he liked to have thrown back at him, and would often play and romp with his guests.[1]

Such frolics occurred at the marriages of Mrs. Claypole and Mrs. Rich. He exhibited, indeed, a strange medley of buffoonery, religious enthusiasm, grandeur, cruelty, and ambition. In July, 1654, he took it into his head to drive his coach and six in Hyde Park, attended by a regiment of Guards, when Ludlow tells us that the spirited animals, being lashed furiously, ran away with him, and the great Protector was thrown from his seat on the box. He, however, sustained no injury, although a loaded pistol went off in his pocket; his legs became entangled with the harness, and he remained for a few seconds suspended from the pole of the carriage. Thurloe, who was inside, jumped out of the door, alarmed for his own life, and escaped with a few slight bruises.

[1] Richard Souciana.

On the 18th of November, 1654, death deprived Cromwell of his kind and affectionate mother, who resided with her son at Whitehall. She had loved him with maternal affection, and had always been apprehensive that he would fall by the hand of an assassin. The Protector caused her to be interred among the Kings of England in Henry the Seventh's chapel. Soon after the Restoration, on the 12th of September, 1661, her remains were dug up, with those of other members of the family, and consigned to a pit in Margaret's churchyard, Westminster.

The last days of this extraordinary man were overshadowed by gloom and apprehension, and melancholy and sadness sat heavy at his heart. He was in constant dread of assassination; rumoured plots were constantly reported to him; most of his friends had deserted him, and his pecuniary circumstances were greatly embarrassed. His army was, moreover, disaffected. Added to all these disquietudes, he sustained a domestic bereavement in the death of his beloved daughter, Mrs. Claypole, who, in her moments of delirium, had reproached him in the most vehement manner for the wickedness of his past life. To crown all, he was labouring under a very dangerous malady—the stone.

The fear of assassination soon took such firm hold of his mind, that he wore a coat of mail beneath his clothes,[1] and carried loaded pistols about with him; surrounding his person with a guard of 150 men, carefully selected from different regiments. Coke ob-

[1] Welwood, p. 109.

serves, he never came back the common road or the same way he went, and always passing with great speed, had many locks and keys for the doors of his houses; seldom slept above three nights in the same chamber, nor in any which had not two or three back doors, and guards in all of them.

These fears which Cromwell entertained for his own safety were by no means groundless, since numerous plots had been discovered against his life. One Syndercombe was arrested, tried, and convicted, for an attempt to set fire to Whitehall Palace. A quantity of combustibles and gunpowder were actually taken into Whitehall chapel for this purpose. On the day appointed for his execution, Syndercombe was found dead in his bed.

But the greatest cause of alarm to the usurper, must unquestionably have been the Proclamation issued at Paris by the young exiled King, offering a reward of £500 to any man in Great Britain who would take his life, of which we shall speak hereafter. A tract was also published about this time, called "Killing no Murder," in which the legality of assassinating the usurper was powerfully advocated. Its publication excited an extraordinary sensation.

Oppressed with gloomy apprehensions and afflictions both of body and mind—suffering under an excruciating malady—and finding his own power tottering, like his own feeble frame, pitiable indeed must have been his condition. If he reflected on the past, his own heart must have condemned him. From the future, he had

little to hope, and his dream of ambition was over. He had blasphemously trifled with religion, often using the sacred name of God to impose upon his fanatical followers, either for the sake of his own earthly advancement, or to throw a mask over his abominable crimes, which included the sacrifice of many thousands of innocent persons.

Nine days after the death of his daughter, he fell ill, as it was thought, of an ague, at Hampton Court, whence he was removed to Whitehall, on the increase of his fever.

The fanatical preachers who surrounded him, flattered him with hopes of his ultimate recovery; but his physicians knew better. Interpreting their looks, the invalid observed, "You, physicians, think I shall die, but I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it."

On the night of the 2nd of September, 1658, Major Butler, who attended his bedside, remarks, "he was very restless, speaking often to himself. And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired to take the same, and endeavour to sleep; unto which he answered, 'It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is, to make what haste I can to be gone.'"

Whilst the last sparks of life yet faintly flickered in their frail tenement, and when the power of utterance had forsaken the dying man, he was asked by the Council of State, who attended his bedside, who he would wish to nominate as his successor. Making no reply, some one present mentioned the name of his son,

Richard. An inclination of the head, or some other similar expression of acquiescence, indicated his approval of the suggestion.

For four days before his death, a fearful tempest, which extended its ravages over a great portion of the south of Europe, howled round the palace of Whitehall, and groaned in the ears of the wicked man who lay at the point of death. It seemed as if the vengeance of Heaven thus sternly rebuked him for his manifold iniquities. He expired on the 3rd of September, about four o'clock in the afternoon, in the sixtieth year of his age, leaving several sons and daughters.

"It was believed," says Walker, "and not without some good cause, that Cromwell, the same morning that he defeated the King's army at Worcester fight, had conference personally with the divell, with whom he made a contract that to have his will then and in all things else for seven years after that time, (being the 3rd of September, 1651,) he should, at the expiration of the said years, have him at his command, to do at his pleasure, both with his soul and body. Now, if any one will please to reckon from the 3rd of September, 1651, till the 3rd of September, 1658, he shall find it to a day just seven years, and no more, at the end whereof he died; but with such extremity of tempestuous weather that was by all men judged to be prodigious."[1]

"This," says Echard, "is also related in other printed books; but we have received a more full

[1] History of Independency, Part iv. Note 1.

account, never yet published, which is here inserted as a thing more wonderful than probable."

This account purports to be the narrative of Lindsey, a brave officer, captain of Cromwell's regiment, and commonly called Colonel Lindsey, detailing the particulars of the interview and bargain between Oliver and the fiend in the form of a grave elderly man, to which he was the only witness. Such was the horror which overpowered him, that in the battle which ensued, Lindsey deserted his post at the first charge, and rode away with all possible speed night and day, till he came to the house of Mr. Thorowgood, a minister, who was his intimate friend, in the county of Norfolk, to whom he related the whole story, declaring that Cromwell would certainly die that day seven years that the battle was fought: "the strangeness of the relation," adds Echard, "caused Mr. Thorowgood to order his son John, then about twelve years of age, to write it at full length in his common-place book, and to take it from Lindsey's own mouth. This common-place book, and likewise the same story written in other books, I am assured is still preserved in the family of the Thorowgoods."[1]

It is indeed a singular coincidence that the death of Cromwell occurred on the same day of the same month which, only a few years before, he had rendered memorable by his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The body lay in state, with great pomp and ceremony, at Somerset House, and the public were admitted into

[1] History of England, Vol. ii. p. 712.

the chamber. The corpse being embalmed, remained thus for nearly twelve weeks, previously to its interment in Westminster Abbey, on the 23rd of November.

Thus terminated the career of one of the most remarkable men of any age or country. From the condition of a private individual, he had raised himself to supreme power over three kingdoms, by the murder of one King, and the exile of another. His name not only inspired terror at home, but also exacted homage from foreign Princes. His mind was not richly cultivated, but his character was marked with penetration, energy, and decision, qualities most invaluable in a great commander. Cunning and hypocritical in the highest degree, he took advantage of the fanatical cant and discontented spirit of the times, which he propagated far and wide for his own personal aggrandizement, while he secretly laughed at the tools who lent themselves to his purpose. Although he derided royalty, he scrupled not to wade through blood to attain the much-coveted title of King, the high end and aim of his ambition. The mask which had hitherto veiled his actions, had now fallen off. His staunchest friends and admirers failed not to perceive how shamefully they had been juggled with by his double-dealing, and they accordingly either deserted him altogether and remained neutral, or went over to the opposite party, as soon as the first dawn of returning royalty appeared in the political horizon.

There is no man, however bad, but has some redeeming traits in his character. The battle-field at-

tested the genius and valour of Cromwell; the council-chamber, his wisdom; he was deeply attached to his wife,[1] and the various members of his family, and he advanced the interests of his friends, the more particularly such as he felt assured would lend themselves to his views. In social life, he could be kind and hospitable, as well as minister to the gratification and amusement of his guests. But his enormous crimes far outweighed his virtues, and have left an everlasting stain upon his memory.

After the death of Cromwell, the hopes indulged by the Royalists were soon dispelled; for Richard, the elder of his two sons, succeeded him in the dignity of Protector, with the general consent of the three nations, and was acknowledged under the same title by foreign powers. Still the representations of the state of parties transmitted on this occasion to Charles, and which were not wholly without foundation, roused him to think more closely of his affairs, and to prepare to avail himself of the changes which might happen. With this view, he wrote to the Princess-Dowager of Orange, and adverting to the alterations that might be expected, contended that it would be to the interest and glory of the United Provinces to assist him in recovering the throne of England, and declared that he had all imaginable reason to wish himself restored rather by them than by any other people but his own. "I beseech you," he

[1] She died at the house of her son-in-law, Claypole, at Norborough, in Lincolnshire, on the 8th of October, 1672, about seventy years of age, and was interred in the same place.

concludes, "to let me know whether your daughter, the Princess Harriette, be so far engaged that you cannot receive a proposition from me concerning her: and if she be not, that you would think of a way how, with all possible secrecy, I may convey my mind in that particular to you."[1]

But the hopes of Charles with respect to Holland were as ill founded as those which regarded the young Princess.[2] He met with no success in either. The Princess-Dowager civilly declined to entertain his offer. Charles also proposed for a daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, but obstacles, as in other cases, were opposed to the alliance.

De Witt, who had the chief management of affairs in Holland, on hearing of Richard's succession, expressed much joy to Downing, the English resident, that "matters were so happily and quietly settled, and thereby such a disappointment to wicked men, enemies," so he said, "as well to them as to England." The States sent two of their members to the English resident with formal condolences and congratulations; and the French ambassador in London, attended by a numerous train of gentlemen, all in mourning, and followed by eighty coaches, paid similar demonstrations of respect to Richard Cromwell in person at Whitehall.

Urged by want of money, the first care of the new Protector was to summon a Parliament, the House of

[1] Ormond Papers, Vol. ii. p. 156.

[2] He afterwards complained to Clarendon that he had not been well treated in this matter.

Lords having been re-constituted by his father some time before his death. It met in January. Animosities arose; civil broils were likely to ensue; and the young Protector, whether from weakness or wisdom, consented to dissolve the Parliament on the 22d of April, 1659, and quietly resigned the government.

Richard, by reason of his quiet resignation, has been treated as a man "without spirit to discern what was best for him," as extremely pusillanimous; in fine, as a fool and a sot, by such men as Lord Clarendon and his copyists. But what was there weak, or foolish, in laying down a burden too heavy for the shoulders? what in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confusion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government?

Dr. Calamy tells us that when a friend of his signified, in a way of free discourse, to Mr. Howe, who had been chaplain to Oliver and Richard, and was a man of sense and learning, that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man, Howe, with some warmth, replied: "How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother [in-law] Fleetwood, he stood it out all night against his whole council, and continued the debate till four o'clock in the morning, having none but Thurloe to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that Parliament would be both his ruin and theirs. Upon some further discourse, on the same subject, Mr. Howe told my friend that Fleetwood undertook, with great solemnity, that if Richard would but comply with the proposal that was

made, the army should not do him the least damage. And he added that, when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the answer he returned was, that he thought he had had more interest in the army than he found he had."[1]

Richard lived privately more than fifty years after his abdication, and died at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, July 12, 1712, in the ninetieth year of his age—a rare instance of the instability of human greatness and of the security of innocence; for, as he had done hurt to nobody, so did nobody ever study to hurt him.

Under the auspices of a cabal of general officers of the army, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and others, the remnant of the Long Parliament, known by the appellation of the Rump, dissolved by Cromwell in 1653, were invited to take their places again in the House, from which they excluded by violence such of their fellow-members, though more numerous than themselves, as had been secluded in 1648.

This indication of an intention to perpetuate their power by refusing to admit either the old members, or others legally elected, produced great discontent throughout the whole country, which became clamorous for a free Parliament. The Royalists were not backward to take advantage of this spirit. Many persons of rank and influence, and even officers in the army and navy, were gained by the agents of Charles in England; a general rising was concerted, and the King

[1] Life of Howe, p. 25, 8vo. London, 1724.

and the Dukes of York and Gloucester were invited to come over to head the insurgents.

This plan is alleged by the former[1] to have been frustrated by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, one of the "Select Knot," as it was called, entrusted with the King's affairs, who discovered it, but not the persons concerned in it, to Thurloe, having been in the pay of Cromwell, who never pressed him, neither did his successor, to betray the persons engaged in the service of Charles, though he might have put the Marquis of Ormond, when privately in England, into their hands. This man, says James, persuaded his colleagues of the Select Knot to defer the rising till further directions; and Sir George Booth alone, in Cheshire, had no notice of this countermand, because Willis was not acquainted with his intentions.

In consequence, Booth, joined by many of the gentlemen of Cheshire and Lancashire, appeared in arms at the appointed time, in expectation that those of other counties would have done the like. Lambert was sent with a considerable force against them. On his approach, many of the insurgents withdrew: the remainder came to an encounter with Lambert at Northwich, and were easily defeated. Not many were slain, but a great number of prisoners were taken, and among them many persons of quality; Sir George himself, in disguise, was apprehended a few days afterwards, at Newport Pagnel, on his way to London, and committed to the Tower, for high treason.

[1] Memoirs of King James II.

As soon as Charles received intelligence of Sir George Booth's rising, he privately left Brussels, taking with him only the Duke of Ormond, Lord Bristol, Daniel O'Neale, and Colonel Titus: at the same time, he sent notice to the Duke of York, who was visiting his sister, the Princess of Orange, to follow him to Calais. The Duke overtook his brother near St. Omer, and it was then agreed that the King should proceed to Calais, and the Duke to Boulogne, to provide a vessel. There he was joined by the King, who told him that, having heard of no other rising but that of Sir George Booth, he should not think it prudent for either of them to venture to England; that it was his intention to go along the coast towards Dieppe; and, if he received any better news, to pass over into the West, or Wales.

Concealing his further intentions from his brother, Charles proceeded to Dieppe, whence, on receiving intelligence of Sir George Booth's disaster, he set out incognito, accompanied only by Ormond and the Earl of Bristol, by way of La Rochelle and Toulouse, to join the Prime Ministers of France and Spain, Cardinal Mazarine and Don Luis de Haro, on the invitation of the latter, at Fontarabia, on the Spanish frontier, where they had met to negociate a peace between the two countries, and a marriage between Louis XIV. and a Spanish Infanta. Having sent information of his approach, the Spanish minister went forth with a splendid train to meet the King, and received him with all the exaggerated courtesy for which his nation has ever been distinguished.

On their meeting, we are told, he alighted from his horse; and notwithstanding the inconvenience of the place, which was very dirty, he fell on his knees, and embraced those of Majesty; and then, riding bareheaded before him, conducted him to the best lodgings which the place afforded.[1] He was visited the next day by the Cardinal. The result of his consultations with the Spanish minister was, that, in his master's name, he promised Charles all possible assistance, both in men and money, as soon as the settlement of affairs with France permitted.

That Charles was at heart a Catholic, even at an early age, is fully evident, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary. The Duke of Ormond says that, while at Fontarabia, in 1659, "to his great surprise and concern, he accidentally one morning saw the King in the great Church, on his knees before the High Altar, with several priests and ecclesiastics about him: that he was soon after confirmed in his sentiments by Sir Henry Bennet and the Earl of Bristol, who both owned the King to be a Catholic, as well as themselves. The former was of opinion that the King ought, in policy, to declare his religion, as the most hopeful method to recover his dominions. But the latter looked upon it as the most dangerous advice that could be given, such as would be the ruin of the King's cause; and it was finally agreed by the

[1] Monarchy Revived, pp. 219-20. History of King Charles II., by a Person of Quality, pp. 208-9.

majority of the little Court there, that this change should be kept as the greatest secret imaginable."

After being treated with the most respectful attentions during his stay at Fontarabia, Charles returned privately by post to Paris, where he passed a few days with the Queen, his mother. So little did the French government anticipate his Restoration, that Cardinal Mazarine, wishing to preserve friendly relations with Cromwell's successor, would not permit Charles II. to remain more than a few days at Paris. He was forced, therefore, to quit that city, and proceeded to Brussels, where he arrived a little before Christmas.

It is stated as a fact, that the sudden disappearance of Charles and his brother from Brussels, gave rise to a positive belief that they had come over and were concealed in England; and so strongly were the ruling powers impressed with this notion, that several persons being taken for those Princes, were apprehended and imprisoned till certain intelligence arrived of their return to Brussels.[1]

During the King's absence, Marshal Turenne made an offer to the Duke to furnish him with troops, arms, provisions, and transports to convey them to England. He also promised to pawn his plate, and use all his credit to raise a sufficient sum for carrying on the enterprize; adding, that this proceeded from his own spontaneous movement, out of pure kindness to the Duke and his family. The Duke accepted the offer

[1] Monarchy Revived, p. 220. History of King Charles II., by a Person of Quality, pp. 210-11.

with joy. The Governor of Boulogne was ordered to furnish him with all the vessels that could be collected in his government; the Duke de Bouillon and others of Turenne's nephews proposed to accompany the expedition as volunteers, and Rye was fixed upon for the place of landing, when news of the defeat of Sir George Booth put an end to the design.

CHAPTER III.

Hopes of Queen Henrietta.—Her letter to her son.—Warnings against his admission to supreme power.—Arguments of Milton.—The Officers petition the House.—The Rump turned out.—New appointments. — General Monk.—His professions.—Clamour for a free Parliament.—Disturbances in the metropolis.—Monk marches to London.—His letter to the Parliament.—Return of the Secluded Members.—Dissolution of the Long Parliament. — Lambert taken prisoner.—Correspondence with the King.—His popularity.—Festivities in the city.—Inconsistent conduct of Monk.—Meeting of the Parliament.—Arrival of Sir J. Grenville with a letter and declaration from the King.—His Majesty's conditions accepted. — Charles invited to return to take possession of his kingdom.—Fleet sent to fetch him over.—Charles proclaimed throughout the country.—He embarks with his suite.—Incidents on the voyage.—He lands at Dover.—Honours paid to him at Canterbury.—Paper presented to him by Monk.—His enthusiastic reception in the metropolis.—Speech of the Earl of Manchester, and of Sir Harbottle Grimstone.—The King's reply.—He passes the Restoration-night with Mrs. Palmer.

HE news of Cromwell's death kindled new hopes in the Queen's mind of her son's speedy Restoration to the throne, and prompted her to renew her relations with those who had continued faithful

to the royal cause, so as to gain their co-operation in case of any movement in his favour; and the subsequent resignation of Richard Cromwell was hailed as a most auspicious circumstance by the removal of a principal barrier in his path.

When the dearest hope of her heart was on the eve of being realized, she addressed to him the following note, dated Colombe, five o'clock in the morning, June 9th, 1660.

"Progers[1] arrived on Monday evening: you may judge of my joy, and if you are torn to pieces in England with kindness, I have my share of it also in France. I am going this instant to Chaillot, to hear the Te Deum sung, and from thence to Paris to have bonfires lighted. We made them yesterday. I think I shall have all Paris. In fact, you cannot imagine the joy that prevails here. We must, amidst all this,

[1] Edward Progers, Esq., a younger son of Philip Progers, of the family of Gareddin, Monmouthshire. His father was a colonel in the army, and equerry to James I. Edward was early introduced to Court; and, after having been page to Charles I., was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to his son, while Prince of Wales. He attached himself zealously to the King's interest during the war with the Parliament. "In 1660," says Lord Oxford, "he was named one of the Knights of the Royal Oak. He represented the county of Brecon in Parliament for 17 years," "and expired," says Le Neve, "on the 1st of January, 1713, aged 96, of the anguish of cutting teeth, he having cut four new teeth, and having several ready to cut, which so inflamed his gums, that he died thereof." See Monumenta Anglicana, p. 273, 1717.

praise God: all this is from His hand; you can see that it is. I will not trouble you more.

"God bless you."[1]

Some of the warnings held out to the public against the admission of Charles to the supreme power during the suspense of 1659, were almost prophetic. "As for the King's religion," says Marchamont Nedham, "if any, it is at best but a devotion to prelacy, which was bequeathed to him in legacy; for he forfeited all his coronation-oaths and protestations to the Scottish nation, with all his other pretences of religion there, before ever he left that country. What profession he hath since owned abroad, hath, for reason of state, been kept very close; but he discovered it when visiting one of the English Jesuites colledges in Flanders: they shewing him in their chapple the effigies of several good fathers of that house which had been sainted at Tyburn, he pulled his hat over his eyes and turned aside to the wall.

"But, if this be not evidence, let us have recourse to reason, and then consider how long he was under the wing of his mother's instructions in France, and what a nursery Flanders hath been for him since, which is the most Jesuited place in the world: consider also the urgency of his necessities disposing him to embrace anything, or take any course to get a crown, being under the same influence of that wandering star called *ragione di stato*, as was his grandfather Henry

[1] Lambeth Manuscripts, 645, Art. 120.

the Fourth of France, who shifted his religion to secure a crown, and chose rather to hazard his portion in paradise, than his palace at Paris (which some say were his own very words): but to these considerations take along with you the young man's intercourse with, obligation, dependence upon foreign priests and Papists; his frequent known applications and promises to the Pope by special agents employed to Rome for that purpose, and to the Emperor as well as the Spaniard; his alliance to, and combination with them and other Popish Princes, especially of those of the Austrian party; being put altogether into the ballance, are ground enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not sworn to Popery."[1]

Milton, too, employed his nervous pen in combating the restitution of Monarchy. "A King," he says, "must be adored like a demi-god, with a dissolute and haughty Court about him of vast expence and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry, both male and female, not in their pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court-service, which will be then thought honourable. There will be a Queen of no less charge, in most likelihood outlandish and a Papist, besides a Queen-mother, such already; together with both their Courts and numerous train: then a royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous courts; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes, not of publick

[1] "Interest will not Lye," 4to. London, 1659.

but of court-offices, to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms, even of the close stool; and the lower their minds debased with Court opinions, contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier will be their pride and profuseness."[1]

On the return of the army to London, after the expedition against Sir George Booth, the principal officers, conceiving that the Parliament ought to refuse nothing to those to whom they owed their power, presented a petition to the House for the appointment of a General. Recollecting how they had been treated by their former General, they not only refused to comply with this request, but revoked the commissions of Lambert, Desborough, and seven others, but voted the supreme command of the army into the hands of seven commissioners, two or three of whom were army-officers, and the rest members of Parliament. Incensed at this treatment, Lambert and his associates drew out their troops at Westminster on the 11th of October, while Hazlerig and others appeared at the head of a force for supporting the Parliament; and, but for the interposition of the Council of State, a regular battle must have ensued.

The power of the sword finally prevailed; and, on the 13th, the army turned the Rump out of doors. The chief officers then disposed of commands among themselves: Fleetwood was made General; Lambert, Lieutenant-general; Desborough, General of the horse; and, to satisfy Monk, who governed Scotland, they

[1] Eikonoklastes.

made him Major-General of foot. For civil affairs they instituted a Committee of Safety, consisting chiefly of army-officers and members of the dissolved Parliament who sided with them.

Monk, who now seems first to have had a glimpse of the important part which he might aspire to play, was a soldier of fortune. Born of an ancient but decayed family in Devonshire, he took to the military life, and always behaved with remarkable bravery. He first served the King, afterwards the Parliament, next the Cromwells, and then again the Parliament, to whom, even after their second interruption, he professed to adhere against all parties.

In October 1659, he wrote to the speaker from Edinburgh: "I do call God to witness that the asserting of a Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart, and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood, and therefore entreat you that there may be a good understanding between Parliament and army: but, if they will not obey your commands, I will not desert you, according to my duty and promise." In several other papers, which he caused to be printed and circulated about this time, he expressed the same sentiments.

Alarmed at these bold declarations, the principal officers of the English army, concluding from them that they might expect him in England, despatched Lambert, with an army of 12,000 men, to the North. Learning that they were beforehand with him, Monk had recourse to negociation, and meanwhile convoked

a convention of the Estates of Scotland, which not only approved his undertaking, but assisted him in it. The city of London began to clamour for a free Parliament, and framed a petition to the lord-mayor and aldermen to that effect; the soldiers interfered, and a disturbance, in which several persons were killed, was the consequence. Fleetwood was therefore requested to withdraw his troops; but, instead of complying, he placed garrisons in several parts of the city, and threatened to set fire to it, if the citizens stirred. At the same time Hazelrig and some other members of the Rump seized Portsmouth, while Admiral Lawson and part of the navy did the like, and blocked up the Thames. In this dilemma, the city would not declare for either party, but still desired a free Parliament. This demand was at length assented to "upon divers enslaving qualifications," and the 24th of January was fixed for its meeting.

Meanwhile, the negociations with Monk came to nothing. That general, who had raised what troops he could, and fortified Berwick, cautiously declined a battle, to which Lambert endeavoured to draw him. Fleetwood's troops were ready to mutiny for want of pay; and the Rump, encouraged by the popular outcry for a free Parliament, and invited by the navy and part of the army, "slipped into the House again on December 26th, late in the evening, by torchlight."[1] That assembly now began to launch its votes against the officers, and that party in the army by which it

[1] Monarchy Revived, p. 219.

had been ejected; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, sent orders to the troops to repair to the garrisons appointed for them. The soldiers obeyed; Lambert was completely deserted; and Monk, entering England with his army, marched into London on the 3rd of February, and received the thanks of Parliament in the House.

The dissatisfaction of the city with that assembly rose to such a height that, on the 8th of February, a vote was passed in Common Council, not to pay or levy any taxes until such time as they might have a full and free Parliament. This defiance so incensed the Rump, that Monk was ordered to march with his army into the city, to pull up the chains and posts, break down the gates and portcullises, and secure certain aldermen and commissioners. This order was duly executed, to the terror and amazement not only of the city, but of the whole nation. Two days afterwards, however, perhaps sensible of the odium he should incur by obsequiousness to the Parliament, he seems to have totally changed his sentiments, for he addressed a letter to the House of Commons, subscribed by himself and fourteen of his principal officers, in which he expressed with what deep regret "he had executed their late orders in regard to the city, which, he feared, would be so far from answering the expected end, that it would rather increase the discomposure of men's spirits in the nations;" reminding them also that "the ground of his coming into England was not only to return them to their trust, but also to vindicate the

liberties of the people." In conclusion, he desired that by the Friday following, they would issue out writs for filling up the House upon due and reasonable qualifications, and put a certain and speedy period to their sitting, "according to their frequent declarations." This letter caused not less mortification to the Rump than it did joy in the city and the whole nation.

On the expiration of the time fixed, without any step being taken by the Assembly for filling up the House, the secluded members, on their address to the general, and engaging to him not to oppose government by a single person, were permitted, on the 21st of February, to take their seats after eleven years' exclusion. The House, increased by above one hundred members, constituted Monk commander-in-chief of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and General Montague admiral of the fleet. A new Council of State, to the number of thirty, including Monk, Montague, Fairfax, Hollis, was appointed. Sir George Booth, and other gentlemen imprisoned by the Rump, were released; and the city-gates were ordered to be repaired at the public expense; lastly, having made provision for calling a new Parliament to meet on the 25th of April, they dissolved themselves by Act, on the 16th of March. Thus terminated what is rightly called the Long Parliament, almost nineteen years after its first assembling, having been interrupted for five successive years by Cromwell, and for ten weeks by Lambert.

That general, having refused to sign an engagement

for peaceable demeanour required by the Council of State to be subscribed by all persons whom they suspected of a disposition to disturbance, was committed to the Tower, from which he escaped and appeared in arms at Daventry, at the head of a party of cashiered soldiers and fanatics. Colonel Ingoldsby was despatched against him; and, being joined by many of Lambert's followers, with his own hand took the general prisoner without resistance, and sent him to London.

What were the real intentions of Monk, or whether he had any fixed plan, even at the dissolution of the Long Parliament, in the middle of March, it is now impossible to ascertain. Indeed, his own declarations from day to day were so contradictory and inconsistent, that one might imagine them to have been made under the influence of those stimulants with which it was alleged he was in the habit of rousing a naturally phlegmatic distemperament.[1] Aubrey, in his Minutes of the Lives of Eminent Men, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, furnishes some curious particulars connected with this subject.

"You must now know," says he, "that long before these days, Colonel Massey and Tho. Mariett of Whitchurch, in Warwickshire, Esqr., held correspondence with his Majesty, who wrote them letters with his own hands, which I have seen. Both these were now in London privately. Tom Mariett lay with me; I was then of the Middle Temple. G. M. [General Monk] lay at Draper's Hall, in Throckmorton Street. Colonel

[1] Clarendon Papers, Vol. iii. p. 622.

Massey (Sir Edward, afterwards) and T. Mariett every day were tampering with G. M., as also Col. Robinson, afterwards Lieutenant of the Tower, whom I remember they counted not so wise as King Solomon, and they could not find any inclination, or propensity, in G. M. for their purpose, *sc.* to be instrumental to bring in the K[ing]. Every night late, I had an account of all these transactions abed, which, like a sot, I did not, while fresh in memory, commit to writing, as neither has T. M.; but I remember, in the main, that they were satisfied he no more intended or designed the K's restoration, when he came into England, or first came to London, than his horse did; but, shortly after, finding himself at a loss, and that he was (*purposely*) made odious to the city, and that he was a lost man by the Parliament, and that the generality of the city and country were for restoring the King, having long groaned under the tyranny of other governments, he had no way to save himself but to close with the city."

Again—"Mem. that Threadneedle Street was all day long, and late at night, crammed with multitudes crying out, 'A free Parliament!—A free Parliament!' that the air rang again with their noises. One day, viz. Febr. ——, he coming out on horseback, they were so violent that he was almost afraid of himself, and so, to satisfy them, (as they use to do to importunate children) said 'Pray be quiet, ye shall have a free Parliament!' This was about seven or rather eight, as I remember, at night; immediately a loud holloa and shout was given, all the bells in the city ringing;

and the whole city looked as if it had been in a flame by the bonfires, which were prodigiously great and frequent, and ran like a train over the city; and I saw some balconies that began to be kindled. They made little gibbets, and roasted rumps of mutton; nay, I saw some very good rumps of beef. Health to K. Charles II. was drunk in the streets, by the bonfires, even on their knees."

This was on the 10th of February, when it was known that Monk had sent his letter to the House of Commons. Evelyn calls it "a signal day," and Pepys, in his amusing Diary, gives the following account of the popular festivities on the occasion. "In Cheapside, there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells, and all the bells in all the churches as we went home, were ringing. (Hence he went homeward, it being about ten at night.) But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen;—the number of bonfires!—there being fourteen, between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar; and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires; in King Street, seven or eight; and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The butchers at the May-Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives, when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill, there was one turning the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed, it was past imagination both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane

of fire and smoke, so hot that we were fain to keep on the other side."[1]

Under the date of March 7th, Pepys writes: "Everybody now drinks the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it. Monk this day is feasted at Mercers' Hall, and is invited, one after another, to all the twelve Halls in London. Many think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise himself by endeavouring it." Again on the 2nd of April, Pepys says: "This morning, comes Mr. Edward Pickering: he tells me that the King will come in, but that Monk did resolve to have the doing of it himself, or else to hinder it,"[2]

During all this time, the inconsistency, or rather the hypocrisy of Monk, was such as can scarcely be paralleled.

In a letter to Hazlerig, dated 14th February, he says, "As for a Commonwealth, believe me, Sir, for I speak it in the presence of God, it is the desire of my soul, and shall (the Lord assisting) be witnessed by the actions of my life, that these nations be so settled in a free state, without a King, single person, or House of Peers, that they may be governed by their representatives successively; and seeing this is your principle also, or at least so held forth by you, I hope there will be no clashing betwixt us."

"One day, he declared that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the Parliament, both in relation to the

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i. [2] Ibid.

King and the House of Lords; another day, he told the same person, in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England, though he was in good temper again the same night. Still he persisted to protest, and wish his right hand might rot off, if he had the least design for the King, or if he did not oppose it to the last drop of his blood, if attempted by any."[1]

It is even alleged that Monk had entered into a correspondence with Mazarine to help him to the place which had been occupied by Cromwell. Every day, however, served to convince him of the impracticability of the attempt: he had no party to assist in raising him to individual power, without recalling the exiled family; for no reliance was to be placed on the military, to whom he owed all his influence.

Certain it is, that men of all parties, all professions, all persuasions, weary of revolutions, and despairing of repose under the nominal form of a Republic, were disposed to concur in the Restoration of the exiled Prince. Though few chose openly to declare their sentiments, yet many of the principal actors under the several governments which had succeeded the abolition of monarchy, found means to offer their services to Charles, and strove to make their peace with him. These applications were, for the most part, successful. The King's friends, taking advantage of this general disposition, employed every art to increase it, by extolling his merciful spirit, and by the strongest assurances that he was

[1] Clarendon Papers, Vol. iii. p. 695.

ready to bury all that was past, in oblivion, while Charles himself loudly professed his regard for the liberties of the people, and the authority of Parliament. Though many were deluded by such representations, there were some too wise to be amused by words.

These foresaw the consequences of the King's return, and, in forcible terms, represented to the nation what was to be expected from the son of the late King, nurtured in the principles of despotism; the insecurity of their consciences, their possessions, and their persons, under a Prince like Charles, and the eternal infamy and contempt which they must incur, by submitting voluntarily to a yoke which they had thrown off at the expense of so much blood and treasure; but the warning voice was raised in vain, and the disposition of the people, aided by the deep dissimulation of Monk, brought about the Restoration of Charles, to the astonishment of the world.

As for the conduct of Monk at this crisis, it is scarcely possible to come to any other conclusion than this—that he set out with the intention of usurping the government himself; and, when foiled in this design by the course of events, he, in order to raise himself by the assistance of the exiled family and their adherents, surrendered the kingdom unconditionally, and sacrificed his former friends, whose principles he had professed, with imprecations of divine vengeance if he deserted them.

The Parliament having met according to appointment, Sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen Speaker

by the Commons, and the Earl of Manchester by the Lords. Monk and Sir Edward Montague (afterwards Earl of Sandwich) were voted Generals at sea. A few days afterwards, Sir John Grenville, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the King, arrived in London, bringing letters to both Houses, to Monk and his officers, and to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, from Charles, who had removed to Breda, in order to take advantage of contingencies. These were delivered on the 1st of May, together with a Declaration, which it may not be improper to insert at full length, as the flagrant breach, or wretched evasion of the most positive promises contained in it, will be seen hereafter to furnish the strongest proofs of his falsehood, ingratitude, dissimulation, and perfidy.

"CHARLES REX,

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting:

"If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that, as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God

and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible. Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

"And, to the end that fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People to their just, antient, and fundamental rights, we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, excepting only such persons as shall be hereafter excepted by Parliament: those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our royal father before the publi-

cation of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs, in a free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

"And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood, we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered unto us, for the full granting that indulgence.

"And because, in the continual distractions of so many years and so many great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by

many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles; we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

"And we do further declare that we will be ready to consent to any Acts of Parliament for the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy."

Many of the most seducing assurances in this Declaration, though strongly objected to by the majority of Charles's Privy Council, who well knew they would never be fulfilled, were inserted in compliance with the instructions received from Monk, who made as great a mockery of promises, oaths, and declarations as the King himself could possibly do.

In accepting the conditions offered in Charles's Declaration, the Parliament committed a fatal oversight, in neglecting to make such stipulations on their part as might prevent future disputes with the Crown; and to this neglect Burnet justly attributes all the errors of Charles's reign, and all the mischiefs which followed. That distinguished lawyer, Sir Matthew

Hale, was the only man who, in the paroxysm of Parliamentary madness, when the unconditional Restoration of the King was about to be voted, rose and moved that a committee might be appointed to look into the proposals that had been made to the late King, and the concessions offered him, and thence to digest such propositions as might appear fit to be sent to his present Majesty. A proceeding so rational was prevented by Monk, who, wishing to bring back the King without terms, in hopes thereby to procure a recompense equal to the greatness of his treachery, told the House that he had information of such a number of incendiaries still in the kingdom, that, if any delay was put to the sending for the King, he could not answer for the peace either of the nation or the army; and, as the King was to bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or to corrupt them, propositions might be as well offered to him when he should come over. He moved, therefore, for sending commissioners immediately. This was echoed with such a shout over the House, that Sir Matthew Hale's motion was not insisted upon.

It was accordingly voted that the King's letter and Declaration were satisfactory, and that the government should thenceforward be vested in King, Lords, and Commons. Six commissioners for the House of Peers, twelve for the Commons, and twenty for the city of London were ordered to repair to Breda, with letters soliciting his Majesty's speedy return to his kingdoms,

to attend him there, and to accompany him home. The Commons further voted that £50,000 should be borrowed of the city of London, to be given to him for the supply of his immediate necessities, £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5,000 to the Duke of Gloucester. Sir John Grenville was also presented with £500 by the Parliament and £200 by the City; and by him part of the sum destined for the King was carried over on his return to Holland. The deputation from the City was also charged with a gift of £10,000 to his Majesty. How much Charles needed such a supply may be concluded from the following entry of Pepys:— "Mr. Edward Pickering told me in what a sad poor condition for clothes and money the King was, and all his attendants, when he came to him first from my lord [Admiral Montague], their clothes not being worth forty shillings, the best of them, and how overjoyed the King was when Sir J. Grenville brought him some money: so joyful that he called the Princess-Royal [the Princess of Orange] and the Duke of York to look upon it as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out." [1]

Another vote of the Commons, on the same day, may be worth recording, namely, that "all books whatever that are out against King, Lords, and Commons shall be brought into the House and burned." "There was great joy in London," Pepys states, "and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much."

This information Pepys must have derived from others, for he had previously accompanied Admiral Montague, his patron and cousin, to the fleet in the Downs destined to bring over his Majesty, as his secretary.

On the 3d of May, Montague, having received a copy of the King's Declaration from Monk, summoned a council-of-war on board his own ship, the Naseby, "and in the meantime did dictate to me," says Pepys, "how he would have the vote ordered which he would have pass this council." Several captains, who were regarded as adverse to the intended Restoration, having been previously removed, the vote passed unanimously. "Not one man," adds Pepys, "seemed to say No to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it. After this was done, I went up to the quarter-deck with my lord [the Admiral] and the commanders, and then read both the papers and the vote; which done, and demanding their opinion, the seamen did all of them cry out, 'God bless King Charles!' with the greatest joy imaginable."[1]

On the same day, Pepys went through the fleet to proclaim the King; and, on his return, having informed his patron of the joyous reception he had experienced in every ship, Montague, in a transport of delight, showed him private letters from the King and the

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

Duke of York, "written to him in such familiar style as their common friend with all kindness imaginable. And I found by the letters, and so my lord told me, too, that many letters had passed between them for a great while, and, I perceive, unknown to Moncke. I perceive his being willing to do all the honour in the world to Moncke, and to let him have all the honour of doing the business, though he will many times express his thoughts of him to be but a thick-sculled fool. So that I do believe there is some agreement more than ordinary between the King and my lord to let Moncke carry on the business, for it is he that can do the business, or at least can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed: this my lord will hint himself sometimes."[1]

On the 8th of May, the King was solemnly proclaimed in London with the usual formalities, and in all the cities and towns throughout England with greater demonstrations of joy than had ever been known upon the like or any other occasion. Monk despatched his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Clarges, with a letter to the King, enclosing an address from the officers of the army, professing their allegiance to his Majesty; and, about the same time, Montague received orders to proceed to Holland with his squadron, for the purpose of bringing him over to England.

In the meantime, great numbers of persons of quality were daily flocking over to Breda to the King, who stayed not long there, but removed to the Hague, where

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

himself and the English gentry were magnificently entertained at the expense of the States, which, we are told, presented him, among other things, "with the richest bed and furniture that could be procured, together with tapestry for hangings, embossed with gold and silver, and curiously adorned with pictures, which noble entertainments, together with the presents, cost the Dutch about £100,000."[1]

On the 21st of May, the King, accompanied by his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange, and her young son (afterwards King William III.), was received on board the Naseby, the name of which reviving an unpleasant recollection, he changed to the Charles, with the two Dukes and his suite, "amidst infinite shooting of guns;" and, after the royal party had dined, he took leave of the Queen, and the Princess, and Prince of Orange, who returned to the Hague. The fleet then weighed anchor, and set sail for England. "All the afternoon," says our gossipping informant, Pepys, "the King walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been), very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck, he fell into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through." The circumstances mentioned by Pepys have already been introduced in the proper place, but the following incident may be worth adding:—"At Rouen, he looked so

[1] Augustus Anglicus, p. 86.

poorly, that the people went into the rooms before he went away, to see whether he had not stole some thing or other."[1]

Lady Fanshawe, who was, with her husband, among the King's suite, on board of the ships composing the royal fleet, thus describes the voyage to England:—

"Upon the King's Restoration, the Duke of York, then made admiral, appointed ships to carry over the company and servants of the King, who were very great. His Highness appointed for my husband and his family a third-rate frigate, called the 'Speedwell.' But his Majesty commanded my husband to wait on him in his own ship. We had, by the States' Order, sent on board twenty-one of the King's most eminent servants, and great store of provisions for our family. We had sent on board the Speedwell a tierce of claret, a hogshead of Rhenish wine, six dozen of fowls, a dozen of gammons of bacon, a great basket of bread, and six sheep, two dozen of neats' tongues, and a great box of sweetmeats.

"Thus, taking our leave of those obliging persons we had conversed with at the Hague, we went on board on the 23rd of May, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The King embarked at four of the clock, upon which we set sail, the shore being covered with people, and shouts from all places of a good voyage, which was seconded with many volleys of shot interchanged.

"So favourable was the wind, that the ships' wherries

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

went from ship to ship, to visit their friends, all night long. But who can sufficiently express the joy and gallantry of that voyage, to see so many great ships—the best in the world; to hear the trumpets, and all other music; to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind, with vast cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships; the strength and jollity of the mariners; the gallantry of the commanders; the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious Majesties of the King and his two brothers, were so beyond man's expectation and expression! The sea was calm, the moon shone at full, and the sun suffered not a cloud to hinder his prospect of the best sight, by whose light, and the merciful bounty of God, he was set safely on shore at Dover, upon the 25th of May, 1660."[1]

Of the King's landing at Dover on the 25th, Pepys gives the following account: "The King and the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went; and there being set some ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but peas and pork, and boiled beef. Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given 50*l.* for my lord's servants, and 500*l.* among the officers and common men of the ship. Great expectations of the King's making some knights, but there was none. About noon, though the brigantine that Beale made was then ready to carry him, yet he would go in my lord's barge with the two Dukes. Our captain steered,

[1] Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, pp. 129, 130.

and my lord went along bare with him. I went and Mr. Maunsell, and one of the King's footmen, and a dog that the King loved, in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received by General Moncke with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land at Dover. Infinite the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The mayor of the town came and gave him his white staff, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The mayor also presented him from the town a very rich Bible, which he took, and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Moncke and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the town towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover."[1]

On entering Canterbury, he was met by the mayor and citizens, who presented him with a gold cup full of gold, and by the ministers, who brought him another Bible.

Lord Clarendon tells us that, "no sooner had the King arrived at Canterbury, within three hours after his landing at Dover, than he was beset by applicants soliciting compensation for losses sustained, or services rendered by themselves or their fathers to the royal cause; some demanding the immediate grant, or promise, of a certain office, others pressing for two or

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

three with such confidence and importunity, and with such tedious discourses, that the King was extremely nauseated with their suits, though his modesty knew not how to break from them; that he no sooner got into his chamber, which for some hours he was not able to do, than he lamented the condition to which he found he must be subject."

Scarcely was he alone, when General Monk, who had gone with a body of troops to Dover to meet him, entered his apartment; and, "without preamble, or apology, as he was not a man of a graceful elocution," told him that he could not do him better service than by recommending such persons as were most agreeable to the people, and from their abilities and interest were most capable of being useful to him. The General thereupon handed to him a large paper full of names, which the King, without reading, put into his pocket, saying that he should always be ready to receive his advice, and to gratify him in any thing which would not be prejudicial to his service.

On examining this paper, it was found to contain the names of about seventy persons who were thought fittest to be made privy-councillors. Of these there were only two who had ever served the King, or been looked upon as zealously attached to him: these were the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, who needed no such recommendation. All the rest consisted of men who had either deserted the King, or been most hostile to him from the commencement of the

troubles, or of leading members of the Presbyterian party, "to which the General was thought to be most inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly inclinations of his wife. There were likewise the names of some who were most notorious in all the other factions, and others alike mean in quality and qualifications."

The King was in more than ordinary confusion at reading this paper, and knew not well what to think of the General, in whose absolute power he was. On a remonstrance from the Chancellor, Monk admitted that, having had much communication with men of all parties, he had promised to do them service with the King; he had, therefore, entered their names in that paper, without imagining that the King would accept them, and leaving him to act as he thought fit. After this good-humoured explanation, Monk was, on the following day, invested with the Order of the Garter, and admitted of the council. The like honour was conferred on Admiral Montague on board his own ship at Chatham, through which town the King passed on his way to the metropolis.

The King proceeded to London on the 29th of May, which was his birth-day. The road from Rochester to Blackheath was crowded on both sides with such a multitude of people, and rang with such joyous acclamations, that, says Clarendon, it seemed one continued street wonderfully inhabited. On Blackheath, the army was drawn up, and the General presented the chief

officers to kiss his Majesty's hand. There also he was met by Major-General Brown, and a gallant company of young citizens; and, at St. George's Fields, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and three hundred citizens in velvet coats and gold chains, representing the several companies, and entertained with a collation in a tent erected on purpose.[1] Charles knighted the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and the principal officers of the militia, an honour which the City had not received for nearly eighteen years, "and therefore," significantly observes Clarendon, "abundantly welcome to the husbands and their wives."

Continuing his progress, the King entered the City, "and with him," says Evelyn in his Diary, "a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the mayor, aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chains of gold and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the City, even from two in the afternoon till nine at night. I stood in the Strand," adds Evelyn, "and blessed God."

"So great," says Lady Fanshawe, "were the acclamations and numbers of people, that it reached, like

[1] Monarchy Revived, pp. 229, 230.

one shout, from Dover to Whitehall. My niece, Fanshawe, then lay in the Strand, where I stood to see the King's entry with his brother; surely the most pompous that ever was, for the hearts of all men in the kingdom moved at his will."[1]

Charles proceeded to the Banqueting House, Whitehall, where both Houses of Parliament waiting his arrival, presented themselves at his royal feet with all possible professions of duty and obedience. A circumstance which affords a striking illustration of the extraordinary change wrought in the opinions and views of public men is, that the vote for the ceremony of prostrations and addresses was proposed by that same Denzil Hollis, who was one of the five members whom Charles I., in a fit of frenzy, had gone to the House of Commons to seize with his own hand, and afterwards created Lord Hollis.

The Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords, took occasion to show how deeply they were interested in the Restoration of the King. "They had felt in a more personal and particular sense the stroke that cut the Gordian knot which fastened his Majesty to the kingdom, and his kingdom to his Majesty." He then pointed out to the nation their happy "change from a rod of iron to a golden sceptre. Judgment was now to run down like a river, and justice like a mighty stream." "Dread sovereign," he continued, "I offer no flattering titles, but speak the words of

[1] Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, p. 131.

truth. You are the desired of these kingdoms, the strength and the stay of the tribes of the people, for the moderating of extremities, the reconciling of differences, the satisfying of all interests, and for the restoring the collapsed honour of these nations. Their eyes are towards your Majesty: their tongues, with loud acclamations of joy, speak the thoughts and the loyal intentions of their hearts; their hands are lifted up to Heaven with prayers and praises, and what oral triumph can equal your pomp and glory!"

Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Speaker of the Commons, though he came after the Earl, was not behind him in the extravagance of his figures, and the servility of his compliments. "If," said he, "all the reason and eloquence that is dispersed in so many heads and tongues as are in the whole world were conveyed into my brain and united in my tongue, yet I should want sufficientcy to discharge the great task I am now enjoined." After this exordium, the speaker ranged through the whole round of history, sacred and profane, for illustrations of his Majesty's glory; but he sought them in vain. "The triumphs of the Romans were nothing when compared to the King's: his name was registered in Heaven, with those glorious martyrs who conquered their tormentors;" but, with this flattering distinction, "he had treble glory."

The King, though, like most other kings, fond of flattery, could not help betraying marks of impatience, which being probably remarked by the courtly Sir Harbottle, he insisted that "to doubt the King's pati-

ence, who was the mirror of patience, would be unpardonable." He then gave full scope to his eloquence; and, when it was nearly exhausted, he ended with begging "his Majesty's assent to a Petition of Rights." There was something startling in that sound: but the speaker, to quiet any alarms which it might excite, intimated to the King that it was far from being such a petition as his father had once been compelled to ratify. Sir Harbottle's petition was quite a different thing. "It had passed two great houses, Heaven and Earth, and he had *Vox populi, vox Dei,* to warrant the demand." But what was the object of this extraordinary petition? It was to request the King to remove his throne of State, and to set it up in the hearts of his people, where he would be crowned also with a diadem of hearts.

The King thanked them for their professions of love, and loyalty, and told them that he was so overcome by his journey and the acclamations of the transported multitude as he passed through the City, that though it was very pleasing to him, as expressing the affection of the people, he was altogether unfit to make them such a reply as he wished; adding, that the greatest satisfaction he felt in the change was, that it enabled him to study, by all the means in his power, to restore the nation to its freedom and happiness, which he hoped speedily to effect with the assistance of Parliament. Having taken his leave of them, he retired to supper; and then this good and pious Prince, whose recall to the throne many well-meaning persons were disposed to

attribute to a special miracle wrought by God, stole away to give the first proof of his gratitude to Heaven by passing the restoration-night in the house of Sir Samuel Morland, at Vauxhall, in the arms of Mrs. Palmer, who, as Countess of Castlemaine, and Duchess of Cleveland, occupies but too prominent a place in the domestic history of Charles II.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of Charles and his courtiers.—Favourable disposition of the Presbyterians.—Loyalty of Mr. Bernard Grenville. — Letter of General Monk. — His falsehood and treachery. — Picture of Charles by Andrew Marvel. — Rewards to those instrumental in the King's Restoration.—Romantic story of the Marchioness of Ormond.—Lady Isabella Rich.—The Earl of Ossory escapes to the Hague. —Chancellor Hyde.—Lord Colepeper.—Sir Edward Nicholas.—The Earl of Southampton. — Settlement of the King's council.—Spirit of the people.—Royal Proclamation against drinking and other vices.—Honours conferred upon Monk.—Sale of places.—The two Houses of Parliament.—Vindictive spirit of the Duke of York. — Proceedings against the late King's Judges.—Speech of Charles to the Lords.—The Act of Indemnity.—Four other acts passed. — Sums presented by Parliament to the King and his brothers.—Trial of the Regicides. —Their execution.

CHARLES II., when he ascended the throne of his ancestors, was thirty years of age. "He carried from the continent to Great Britain," observes Mr. James, "the peculiar tone of the times of the Fronde, and it was adopted by his whole Court, many of the members of which had personal opportu-

nities of learning their lesson in the French capital. I do not, of course, speak here of the spirit of opposition to the government, which, in fact, was but one of the subordinate parts in the motives of the Fronde. In the one country, had raged a civil war; in the other, reigned a supreme peace. But the utter licentiousness of manners, the total disregard of honesty, consistency, or honour—the infraction of all ties, moral and religious—the witty levity, and jocular selfishness which had characterized the Fronde, were assuredly carried to England by Charles II."[1]

It is remarkable that the principal instruments in the Restoration of the exiled family were the Presbyterians, the men who had opposed Charles I., and would not consent to his re-admission to the government, unless upon terms. Of this party were the secluded members, who were very popular in the nation, who had always given uneasiness to the Commonwealth-government and Cromwell, and who, after their re-admission into the House, set at liberty Booth, Lauderdale, and others, imprisoned for their exertions in the royal cause. Burnet says, Hollis, Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, and Annesley, had frequent meetings with Manchester, Roberts, and the rest of the Presbyterian party, and that the ministers of London were very active. But active and zealous as these men might be to introduce the King, they would not have been wrong-headed enough to think of admitting him without restrictions. And who prevented those restrictions from

[1] Life and Times of Louis XIV., Vol. iii. p. 72.

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being imposed before Charles' restoration? The traitor Monk alone.

The first explicit avowal of his real intentions that we find recorded, is that contained in letters despatched on the 9th of April to Charles, with whom he must previously have been in correspondence, by Mr. Bernard Grenville. In these letters, acknowledging his duty and allegiance, and returning his most humble thanks to his Majesty for entertaining so good an opinion of him, and reposing so great and absolute a trust in him; he assured him that he would certainly restore his Majesty, and that, with the hazard of his life, he would do it without any previous conditions, he being such an adorer of Majesty, that he could not endure to see it shackled with any limitations or exceptions whatsoever, so that he should return a free and absolute monarch to his ancient kingdoms.[1]

This is the account given by Monk's chaplain and biographer, and it is confirmed, with the addition of many interesting particulars, by Lord Lansdowne, who relates that his father, "Mr. Bernard Grenville, was the person intrusted by the General with his last dispatches to the King to invite him home, and to acquaint him that every thing was ready for his reception. When he gave him these final instructions, he acquainted him that there were other messengers going over at the same time in the same ship from Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and others, directed to the Chancellor; that he should take care not to be suspected of

[1] Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 279, 8vo.

being any thing more than a common passenger, not charged with any businesss; and, above all, to use such diligence as to get first to the King, that his Majesty might not be surprised or perplexed by any uneasy importunities, or disagreeable demands; but be prepared in what manner to receive and content them with general answers. My father, accordingly, arrived the first by two or three hours. The King was at supper. Upon sending in his name, his Majesty immediately rose from table, and came to him in another room. The King had no sooner read the General's letter but he embraced the bearer, and told him that never was man more welcome to him: he could now say he was a King, and not a doge. It is certain, the General's extreme but necessary caution and taciturnity gave latitude to others to assume more merit than belonged to them. The King himself, who best knew, has decided this question by declaring in all his grants and patents of honour to the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath, that he owed his Restoration, as it was, free and independent, to their sole management."[1]

When the subject of the propositions to be made to the King was brought before Parliament by Hale, afterwards the famous chief-justice, Monk represented that he could not answer for the peace, either of the nation or of the army, if any delay should take place in sending for the King; and that propositions might as well be prepared and offered to him when he had

[1] Lansdowne's Works, Vol. ii. p. 161.

come over. He therefore moved that commissioners should be immediately sent to bring him over, declaring that he must lay the blame of all the blood or mischief that might follow, on the heads of those who should insist on any motion that might delay the present settlement of the nation. This was echoed with such a shout over the House, that the motion [Hale's] was no more insisted on. This was, indeed, the great service that Monk did. It was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and the credit he had gained. For, as to the Restoration itself, the tide ran so strong, that he only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards for that which will still have a great appearance in history."[1]

Thus, through the falsehood and treachery of Monk, was the government of three flourishing kingdoms placed in the hands of an exiled Prince without conditions, contrary to the sense and expectations of the most intelligent persons of all parties; and thus did an English Parliament, elected, it is true, with a view to this event, deliver up themselves and all that was dear to them, to one from whom they had no reason to expect over-kind treatment. Patriotism had ceased to actuate British senators; everything was disregarded but personal safety, personal honours, personal rewards, and these it was judged might be best obtained by paying early court to the King, in a matter most acceptable to him.

"To the King's coming in without conditions," says

[1] Burnet, Vol. i. p. 88.

Burnet, "may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And, when the Earl of Southampton came to see what he was like to prove, he said once, in great wrath, to Chancellor Hyde, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared: for, if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power to do either himself or them any mischief, which was likely to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely."

In the picture of Charles, at the time of his Restoration, drawn by the caustic pen of Andrew Marvel, there is, it must be confessed, even more truth than satire:

"Of a tall stature and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew,
Twelve years compleat he suffer'd in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.
At length, by wonderful impulse of Fate,
The people call'd him home to help the state:
And what is more, they send him money, too,
And cloath him all from head to foot anew.
Nor did he such small favours then disdain,
Who in his thirtieth year began his reign."

MARVEL.

The first care of this Prince was to reward those whom he considered as the principal instruments of his Restoration, and to provide further for such of "his father's asses" as were still capable of rendering him service. General Monk was created Duke of Albemarle, Admiral Montague Earl of Sandwich, and Sir

John Grenville Earl of Bath; while Morrice, who alone is believed to have been acquainted with the views of the former, previously to the recall of Charles, was knighted and appointed joint Secretary of State with Sir Edward Nicholas; Hyde became Lord Chancellor; Ormond, Lord Steward; the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer, having relinquished the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had married his niece. The Duke of York was appointed Lord High Admiral.

Of the old servants who had accompanied the King from exile, by far the most distinguished was the Marquis of Ormond. Illustrious by his character as well as by his rank, Ormond had attached himself from principle to the cause of Charles I., and maintained his cause through the whole of the Civil Wars with unshaken constancy and generous self-devotion. Having expended his patrimony in support of the royal cause in Ireland, till that cause became utterly hopeless, he rejected all the overtures of Cromwell, and attaching himself to the fortunes of the exiled Prince, was, alike in prosperity and adversity, his ablest counsellor and truest friend, never his flatterer or his favourite.

Ormond's family presents one of those bright spots which, from their rarity in that age of almost universal profligacy and debauchery, refresh the eye and cheer the heart. The Marchioness, a woman of great beauty and undaunted spirit, was heiress of the Earl of Desmond, and her union with Ormond, then Lord Thurles,

which put an end to the feuds and lawsuits that had long divided the two families, was much less a marriage of policy than of passion. The circumstances attending it, as related by the grave biographer of Ormond, have a tincture of romance which renders them extremely interesting.

The lady was a ward of King Charles I., who had bestowed the guardianship of her person and extensive estates on the Earl of Holland. It chanced that pending a lawsuit between her and Lord Thurles, she chanced to meet her young adversary at Court; and, struck by his fine person and noble qualities, she fell in love with him, and so little care did she take to conceal her partiality, that not only its object but the whole court became aware of it. The King, in consequence, sent to Lord Thurles, requiring him to desist from any pretensions to the hand of the young lady, which his Majesty had destined for another. With a spirit which justified her choice, her lover replied, that though he should be sorry to displease his Majesty, yet he conceived, that as the "poor cousin and kinsman" of the Lady Elizabeth, he had a better right than any nobleman about the Court to pay her those attentions which were due to her beauty and merits. On her part, she declared, without reserve, her abhorrence of the match proposed by the King, and her determination to have none but Lord Thurles for her husband In vain, it was urged that the union was in all respects most eligible for both, and that, in fact, no other means could be found to put an end to the family dissensions.

The King was resolute, and her guardian placed the young lady in durance.

The lovers were enabled, however, to keep up a correspondence, by means of Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, with whom Lady Elizabeth had been brought up. Not so strictly secluded as her father's ward, she contrived to meet Lord Thurles in secret. Handsome, lively, and good-natured, she was neither of an age nor disposition to carry on such an intercourse with safety; each found the other but too agreeable, and passion, opportunity, and inexperience —Lord Thurles was only nineteen—concurred to betray them into an indiscretion, in consequence of which Lady Isabella became the mother of an infant, who was immediately sent to Paris, and there educated without any knowledge of his parents. So secretly was this business managed, that not the slightest suspicion attached to Lady Isabella; and, soon afterwards, a bribe of £15,000 having softened the heart of Lord Holland, he exerted his influence with the King, and obtained his Majesty's consent to the union of Lord Thurles with Lady Elizabeth.

Years elapsed before Ormond visited Paris, when he found the child of Lady Isabella a blooming and hopeful youth; and he could not refrain from sending tidings of him to his unhappy mother. Writing on the same day to his wife, he made an unlucky mistake in the direction of the two letters, and that which was intended for Lady Isabella, fell into the hands of the Marchioness of Ormond. Lost in painful astonishment,

she was still sitting with the open letter in her hand, when Lady Isabella was announced. A mutual explanation and exchange of letters took place. The generous nature of Lady Ormond was signally displayed on this trying occasion. Unable to bear the sight of the humiliation of a friend, who was bowed to the earth with shame before her, she threw her arms round her neck, and, with tears and a thousand fond caresses, strove to reconcile her with herself, assured her of her entire forgiveness, and promised that the past should be to her as if it had never been. So well did she keep her word, that Ormond himself, it is said, never suspected his wife's knowledge of this transaction.

But this was not all. When, at a subsequent period, Lady Isabella and her family were obliged to seek safety out of England, the Marchioness of Ormond offered her an asylum in her house at Caen. Her friend accepted the offer as frankly as it was made; and, for two years, she resided under the same roof with the Marchioness and her husband, in all honour and confidence.

To the end of her life, Lady Isabella preserved an unblemished reputation, and died unmarried. Her son died young, before the Restoration. These particulars were not known till after Ormond's decease.[1]

When Ormond withdrew to France in 1655, he was obliged to leave his wife and family behind. By command of Cromwell, his eldest son, the Earl of Ossory,

[1] See Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. iii.

was apprehended, on no specific charge, and committed to the Tower. His mother waited upon the Protector to remonstrate, and to solicit his release, pleading the quiet and inoffensive life which she led with her children in London. Cromwell told her plainly that he had more reason to fear her than any person whatever. In the presence of a numerous drawing-room, she replied that she desired no favour at his hands, but merely justice to her innocent son, and that she thought it strange that she, who had never been concerned in a plot in her life, nor opened her mouth against him and his government, should be represented as so terrible a person. "No, madam," replied Cromwell, "that is not the case; but your worth has gained you so great an influence over all the commanders of our party, and we know so well your power over your own party, that it is in your ladyship's breast to act what you please." She answered that she must needs construe this speech into a civil compliment; and no more could she then obtain of the politic Protector. Ossory fell dangerously ill, and his mother renewed her solicitations with such vehemence, that Cromwell, at length, set him at liberty. Ossory, attended by a younger brother, disguised as his servant, escaped to the Hague, where he was received with high honour by his father's friends, and especially by the lord of Beverweert, the acknowledged, but illegitimate son of Maurice, Prince of Orange, at whose house the English royalists were received with great hospitality, and to one of whose daughters he was united shortly before the Restoration, when he returned with her to England.

Hyde, the Chancellor, had been employed by Charles I. in affairs of the greatest trust and secrecy; he had been made Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the beginning of the troubles, and sent by the King into the West with his son, when he thought it expedient that they should part.

Lord Colepeper, who possessed considerable abilities and a superior understanding, had likewise been appointed by the late King to attend the Prince on their final separation; and had afterwards continued with him, or in his service. While a member of the House of Commons, before he was dazzled by the rays of royal favour, he was one of the loudest declaimers against the abuses of government. He made several speeches against the increase of Papists, the innovations made by Laud in the canons and ceremonies of the church, the coal and conduct-money, the taking away of the militia-arms, and, above all, against "the swarm of monopolizing vermin, who," he said "sip in our cup; who dip in our dish; who sit by our fire; who are found in the wash-house and the powdering-tub; who share with the butler in his box; who have marked and sealed us from head to foot, and will not abate us a pin. —These," he added, "are the leeches that have sucked the Commonwealth so hard that it is almost become hectic." But he lost the sense of all those grievances as soon as his own interest and ambition were gratified, and became a strenuous supporter, both in the cabinet and the field, of that arbitrary system against which he had before inveighed with such a shew of public spirit and such sarcastic asperity.

Sir Edward Nicholas had long held the office of Secretary of State to Charles I. A man of unquestionable integrity, and a faithful servant of the Crown, he was one of those who were excepted by Parliament from pardon, or composition. He was, therefore, obliged to leave the country, and Charles, while abroad, as well as on his return to England, continued him in the office for which he had proved himself to be so eminently qualified.

The Earl of Southampton, who during the successive governments had never left England, where he rendered good service to the King in his most secret and important counsels, though not possessed of brilliant talents, or extraordinary capacity, had good sense, integrity, and a real love for his country. When in office, he strenuously opposed the persecuting system that prevailed in the cabinet, and never voted contrary to the dictates of his conscience. He perceived, with concern, the fatal tendency of Charles's measures; and, according to Burnet, once said in great wrath to Chancellor Hyde, that "it was to him they owed all they felt, or feared; for, if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to put it out of his power to do either himself, or them, any mischief."

The council, as settled by the King, was composed of thirty members, including his brother and the principal officers of state, but forming altogether such a medley of Protestants of the Church of England, Presbyterians, and Papists, that it was scarcely possible for

any great good or consistent plans of administration to proceed from such a cabinet of jarring factions and discordant interests.

Of the general spirit of the people at the time of Charles's Restoration, Clarendon exhibits a melancholy picture, and which, probably, is not overcharged. "The nation," he says, "was corrupted from that integrity, good-nature, and generosity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof, the vilest craft and dissembling had succeeded the tenderness of the bowels, which is the quintessence of justice and compassion. The very mention of good nature was laughed at, and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool, and a roughness of manners, hard-heartedness, and cruelty was affected in the place of generosity; a vile and sordid love of money was entertained as the truest wisdom, and anything lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay, or rather a final expiration of all friendship; and, to dissuade a man from anything he affected, or to advise him to do anything he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy a wise man, and received with reproach and contempt."

Charles, at his Restoration, found the partizans of royalty not only weakened by mutual dissensions and animosities, but addicted to the vice of inordinate drinking—a vice which gradually extinguishes all capacity for the higher duties of life, and sinks the human character below that of the brute. This disgusting habit

had been contracted partly from a silly desire of drowning the uneasy sense of their troubles and disappointments, partly from the necessity for meeting often together, for which purpose taverns were the most convenient places, and led to the most scandalous excesses, which had arrived at such an height when the King returned to England, that one of his first acts was to issue a Proclamation against debauchery. Pepys notes under date of the 4th of June: "This morning, the King's proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery was read to our ships' companies in the fleet; and, indeed, it gives great satisfaction to us all." Too soon it became evident that this proceeding was but an artifice for captivating the good opinion of his sober-minded subjects; his own indulgence in those very excesses abundantly proving how far this *moral* Prince was sincere in the desire to check them in others.

No sooner had Charles taken possession of his throne than a spirit of venality and corruption, encouraged in the highest quarter, began to pervade all classes of people. Monk, whom Ludlow justly describes as "a person of an ambitious, covetous temper, of loose, or rather no principles, and of a vicious and scandalous conversation," had been invested before the King's return by the Parliament with the commands which Cromwell had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of Ireland, and general of all the forces in the three kingdoms. Charles confirmed these appointments, to which he added that of gentleman of the Bedchamber, and allowed him to select what office he liked best at Court. He chose to

be Master of the Horse, "and thereby," says Clarendon, "all those poor gentlemen who had promises and warrants for several places depending upon that great office were disappointed, and offered the King's sign-manual to no purpose for their admission. The general, in his own nature, was an immoderate lover of money, and yet would have gratified some of the pretenders upon his Majesty's recommendation, if the vile good-housewifery of his wife had not engrossed that province, and preferred him who offered most money, before all other considerations, or motives. Hence," he adds, "many honest men, who had spent their fortunes in serving the King, were denied the recompence which he designed for them, and others, who had been most inveterate enemies to the royal cause, became his servants very much against his will; murmurs and discontent were the natural consequences."

No sooner, in fact, was Charles seated on his throne, than every dignity, every appointment, was put up for sale. So early as in the month of June, Pepys notes in his Diary, "Mr. Hill told me of an offer of £500 for a Baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord [Sandwich] of, and he said he would think of it;" and in the same paragraph he says, Brigham "told me how Lady Monk deals with him and others for their places, asking him £500, though he was formerly the King's coachmaker, and sworn to it." The appointment was in the gift of Monk, as Master of the Horse. Again he says, that, "being at the Privy Seal, Sir Samuel Morland came with a Baronet's grant to pass, which the

King had given him to make money of;" and he goes on to relate that Morland told him that the King had granted him a pension of £500 per annum out of the post-office, and the benefit of two Baronets. Could these favours have been conferred in recompense for the accommodation afforded by that gentleman to the King in his secret interviews with Mrs. Palmer? If so, his Majesty cannot, in this instance, be charged with want of liberality.

Immediately on the King's arrival in England, the Parliament, as the members had not been summoned by the King's writs, relinquished the name, and assumed that of a Convention: but, two days after his return, the Lords and Commons, then sitting at Westminster, were declared, by an express Act, to be the two Houses of Parliament, notwithstanding the want of the King's writs of summons.

The Duke of York, though he had not then avowed his attachment to Popery, was well known to have been deeply affected with that contagion by his mother. In the unguarded moments of private conversation, he also gave frequent proofs of his despotic spirit; and often expressed a wish that not only all the anti-monarchical resolutions of the late Parliaments, but every one of their Acts, in any way favourable to the liberty of the subject, might be repealed. The Duke was active, persevering, implacable, and revengeful; and it was to his influence with the council, as we learn from Clarendon, that so many exceptions were made from the pardon promised by the King in the Declaration of

Breda. In this case, he had the advantage of being able to conceal the odiousness of private malice, and the violence of his sanguinary disposition, under the cloak of filial piety. After long and repeated discussions in the cabinet, composed of the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Steward of the Household, the Master of the Horse, and the two Secretaries of State, those who favoured the Duke of York's sentiments prevailed over the opposition made by Ormond and Southampton, who contended for mercy with more firmness than might have been expected from the characters of either, or from their former experience of private wrongs.

Nothing now remained but to secure the concurrence of Parliament. On the 6th of June, a week after the King's return, a Proclamation was issued, requiring all persons who had presided as judges, or assisted at the trial of the late King, to surrender within fourteen days, upon penalty of forfeiting life and estate. Many of those persons had already quitted the kingdom; a few were apprehended in the attempt to escape; but others, who lay concealed for an opportunity of flight, being encouraged by the favourable construction generally put on the words of the Proclamation, surrendered themselves to the Speaker of the House of Commons, on what they called the faith of Parliament, and were committed to the Tower, and the lives of these last the House afterwards conceived itself engaged to save.

The Commons had, at first, resolved to except only nine of the late King's judges from the general pardon,

but added a list of twenty other persons, who, though not immediate agents in the King's sentence or execution, were to suffer such pains and penalties, not extending to death, as should be decreed by a future Act. When the Bill to the effect came before the Lords, they proposed to except from the Act of Indemnity not only the judges of the late King, but all those who had presided in the courts where any nobleman was condemned. The Earl of Bristol, a Papist, outdid all the rest in this intemperance of cruelty, moving that no pardon might be granted to those who had, in any sort, contributed to the King's murder. Such an exclusion from mercy, in which all who had taken up arms against Charles I. might be comprehended, was probably suggested through the secret influence and vindictive spirit of the Duke of York.

The violence of the measures proposed by the Lords spread a general alarm. The people were led to believe that the Declaration from Breda, which breathed nothing but mildness and mercy, was entirely the effect of temporary artifice; and that the King only wished to throw off from himself the odium of any flagrant breach of his word, and to make the representatives of the nation the instruments of the most bloody vengeance on all his enemies. Charles himself was indifferent with respect to the number of victims. He only wished that the point might be speedily settled, as it lay in the way of other matters which he had much more at heart—the disbanding of the army and the establishment of his own revenue. He began to be

impatient at the delay occasioned by the contention excited between the two Houses, and chiefly on the treatment of those who had surrendered in consequence of the Proclamation.

To put an end to these contests, the King went, on the 27th of July, to the House of Lords, and made a well-advised and persuasive speech, tending to dispel the suspicions entertained of his own clemency, and to remove the chief obstacles to a compromise between the two Houses. He particularly insisted upon the point of honour by which he was bound to make good the assurances given in his Declaration. He farther observed, that the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom depended upon the performance of those promises, "which," added he, "if I had not made, I am persuaded that neither I nor you had now been here. I pray, therefore, let us not deceive those who brought, or permitted us to come together; and I earnestly desire you to depart from all particular animosities and revenge, or memory of past provocations, and to pass this Act without other exceptions than of those who were immediately guilty of the murder of my father."

After delivering this speech, with so much apparent earnestness, he gave himself no more trouble about the matter, but left the final settlement to the active and intriguing spirit of others. Farther conferences took place between the two Houses; and some concessions having been obtained from the Commons, the Act of Indemnity was at length agreed to, and received the royal assent on the 25th of August. In an apology

made for the exceptions which it contained, in contradiction to the wishes as expressed by the King, he was assured that "his subjects had not the confidence to ask the pardon which his clemency had granted; and that the Parliament had found an absolute and indispensable necessity incumbent upon them to except and set some apart for *treacle* to expel the poison of sin and rebellion out of others, that they might be made sacrifices to appease God's wrath and satisfy divine justice."

This Act was framed with an artful show of conformity with the King's Declaration. Its preamble and first clauses seemed to breathe a spirit of general indemnity and oblivion. It denounced penalties against those who should use any words of reproach tending to revive the memory of the late troubles, and it granted an absolute pardon to all who had been engaged in them, but with the following numerous exceptions:—

Forty-nine of the late King's judges, with this distinction in favour of those who had surrendered on the faith of government, that, if they were condemned, their execution should be suspended till ordered by the King and the Parliament;

Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, Pride, and other deceased offenders were attainted;

The estates of Lord Munson, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harington, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Phillips, and Wallop were confiscated, and their persons made liable to such other pains and penalties as the Parliament should think fit;

Sir Henry Vane and Lambert were excepted from pardon, both as to life and estate;

Hutchinson and Lassells were declared incapable of exercising any office, and subject to the forfeiture of one year's revenue of their estates;

Oliver St. John and seventeen others were excluded from the benefit of this Act, if they should ever accept or execute any public employment;

All that had given sentence of death in the late high courts of justice, except Colonels Ingoldsby and Thomlinson, were disabled from being members in any Parliament, or bearing any office in England or Wales;

Those who had converted to their use any goods belonging to the Church were also deprived of the benefit of this Act.

Thus the general pardon was clogged with as many exceptions as the intrigues of the Court and the efforts of the nobility could induce the House of Commons to acquiesce in.

At the same time with the Act of Indemnity were passed four other Acts. One of these, of the highest importance, had for its object the confirmation of judicial proceedings from the 1st of May, 1642, notwithstanding the want of legal qualifications in the judges; though it was opposed, with more zeal than good sense, by some of the royal party, who were unwilling to see any sanction given to the decrees of rebels and usurpers; not considering that the whole kingdom would be thrown into confusion, and an immense number of people involved in endless trouble and expense, if the

validity of decisions in the law courts was left in any sort questionable. The second was an Act for the provision of moneys to pay off the army and navy; by the third, the interest of money was fixed at six per cent.; and the fourth, intended wholly as compliment to the King, was entitled "an Act for a perpetual anniversary-thanksgiving on the 29th of May, the day of his Majesty's nativity and Restoration."

After the King had given his assent to these Acts, he expressed his warm approbation of the proceedings of both Houses; he thanked them for the particular testimonies of their zeal and attachment; and then took occasion to acquaint them with his private wants in a strain of unusual but very engaging simplicity. He told them that "his purse was almost empty; that he had not been able to give his brothers one shilling since he came to England, nor to keep any table but what he ate at himself; but that what grieved him most was to see many of them come to him at Whitehall, and to think that they must go somewhere else to seek a dinner."

The singularity of this address produced the desired effect. No comments were made on the boundless profusion of the Court. The Commons presented the Duke of York with £10,000, the Duke of Gloucester with £7,000, and the King with £5,000 for the repair of his Houses. They then passed two Bills, one for speedily raising £100,000 for a present supply by way of land-tax; and the other for raising £140,000, at £70,000 a-month, to begin the 1st of November.

They then proceeded to another object of immediate exigency, an Act to impower and direct the commissioners in what manner to disband the Army and to pay off some part of the Fleet.

Six peers and six commoners were chosen to superintend the execution of this Act, which contained the minutest instructions for their conduct in the discharge of so delicate a commission. The several regiments were to be broken by lots; their full arrears, to the very day of disbanding, were to be cleared off; and the King gave an overplus of one week's pay to every officer and private soldier. The government, it is certain, was in great dread of a mutiny; and Monk, in particular, from his own treachery to the army, must have been in a state of constant alarm for his personal safety while the troops were embodied. His creature, Sir William Morrice, the secretary, in a debate on the subject, significantly remarked, that "gunpowder is made of the same ingredients which cause earthquakes, and that, as long as the soldiery continued, there would be a trembling in the nation."

The King went to the House of Lords on the 13th of September, and passing the Bills that were ready, left the two Houses to adjourn themselves to the 6th of November following.

The trial of those victims who were destined by the Parliament to appease the royal resentment, was purposely delayed during the sheriffalty of Lane, a man of too much honesty and firmness to be induced by promises, or threats, to use any unfair means to procure

a jury properly picked for ensuring the condemnation of the prisoners. As the City of London had strictly complied with an injunction from the Court, that the magistracy and common-council should be filled by men who had adhered to the King's cause during the Civil War, the new sheriffs were of the right stamp.

Six resolutions, tending to prevent all chance of escape, were drawn up by the chief baron Bridgeman, the justices Foster, Hyde, and Mallet, Sir Jeffrey Palmer, the King's attorney, Sir Heneage Finch, the solicitor, and Sir Edward Turner, attorney to the Duke of York.

Agreeably to the first resolution, a special commission was issued to thirty-five persons, among whom were Bridgeman, president; Finch, whose resentment rendered him a party in the cause; and fifteen who had distinguished themselves in the senate, or in the field, against the King during the Civil War. Among these men, who were to wash out the stains of their former conduct by the merit of their present services, was Monk, who, previous to the King's return, when the Lord Say proposed to him the passing of an Act of Indemnity, in which some of those who had been principally concerned in the King's death should be excepted, made answer, "Not a man; for, should I suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived."

The other resolutions precluded the common forms and the ordinary appearances of justice. By one, the King's counsel were privately to manage the evidence

to the grand jury, in order to the finding the bill of indictment; by another, the prisoners were to be arraigned the day before they were brought to trial; and, in the sixth, it was determined that there need not be two witnesses to prove every overt-act tending to compass the King's death; but one witness to prove one such act, and another to prove another.

The Old Bailey was the place appointed for the trials. The first of the state-prisoners brought forward was Sir Hardress Waller, a man of a very timid disposition. Having been previously instructed by his kinsman, Finch, after much hesitation he pleaded guilty, and threw himself upon the mercy of the government.

Harrison, a plain, blunt, straight-forward soldier, was the next. The son of an opulent grazier, he had entered as a subaltern into the service of the Parliament, from a thorough conviction of the goodness of their cause; and, after the new-modelling of the army, was gradually promoted to the rank of major-general. On the principles of conscience, and with a view to the attainment of religious liberty, and reformation of manners in its utmost extent, he took an active part in bringing Charles I. to the block; and the hypocrisy of Cromwell operating upon his honest and unsuspecting temper, he became at least a passive instrument in subduing the power of the Parliament to the will of the Usurper. But no sooner did Harrison discover his ambitious design, than he ranged himself among Cromwell's fiercest opponents. He was in consequence deprived of his commission in the army, and had to suffer

a close imprisonment. On regaining his liberty, he had lived in retirement, and on the Restoration of the exiled Stuarts offered himself a victim to the vengeance of an enraged government, rather than seem, by withdrawing from his house, to desert the cause in which he had engaged.

Harrison boldly justified his conduct and the authority under which he had acted; and when the witnesses, the chief of whom lay under the lash of government for similar offences, were produced against him, he told the court that it was an unnecessary trouble, for he came not before them with any intention of denying what he had done. "The act," said he, "of which I stand accused was not a deed performed in a corner; the sound of it has gone forth to most nations; and, in the singular and marvellous conduct of it, has chiefly appeared the sovereign power of Heaven."

In the course of his speech, he reminded several of his judges how active they had themselves been in drawing in those on whom they now sat in judgment; and, on the point of conscience, he argued thus pathetically:—"I have often," said he, "agitated by doubts, offered my addresses with passionate tears to the Divine Majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction. I still received assurances of a heavenly sanction, and returned from such devout supplications with tranquillity and satisfaction. These frequent illapses of the Divine Spirit I could not suspect to be interested illusions; since I was conscious that for no temporal advantage would I have offered injury to the poorest

individual. All the allurements of ambition," he added, "all the terrors of imprisonment have not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to shake my steady resolution, or bend me to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant; and, when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne—when offered riches, splendour, and dominion, I have disdainfully rejected all temptations, and, neglecting the tears of my friends and family, have still, through every danger, held fast my principles and my integrity."

He was proceeding to assert that "God is no respecter of persons, and that he would have abhorred bringing the King to account but for the blood he had shed," when he was stopped short by the President, who told him that "he had spoken as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as he had ever heard." The council was for sending him to Bedlam, but with the same breath asserted, though most absurdly on the supposition of lunacy, "that it was a new impeachment of the present King to justify treasons against his late Majesty;" and Sir Edward Turner said, "he had the plague all over, and would infect all those who stood near him."

Interrupted thus in his attempts to justify himself, the prisoner said that "as the court refused to hear what was fit for him to speak in his defence, he submitted to their sentence." His firmness was the greatest aggravation of his guilt; and, after the most indecent efforts had been made in vain to brow-beat and intimidate him, his sentence was pronounced with a

vengeful tone, which was a worthy prelude to the barbarity of his execution.

The next of the state-prisoners brought to trial was Carew, who had in a manner surrendered himself by neglecting to take an advantage afforded by a mistake of his name in the warrant for his apprehension. This was pleaded in his favour by several members of the House of Commons; and it was by a majority of ten only that he was wholly excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. After advancing some enthusiastic opinions, he admitted the charge; and, in justification of his conduct, would have entered into a history of the opposition. This was a kind of recrimination on the greater part of his judges; and, contrary to the promise made him of liberty of speech, he was abruptly cut short by the court; and some of the bench gave evidence against the prisoner, as they had done on the trial of Harrison.

Scot was one of the most spirited members of the Republican Parliament. When they appointed two Commissioners to meet Monk, on his return from Scotland, the sagacity and address of Scot had recommended him to their choice. He and his colleague, Robinson, were received by the general at Leicester, with all the marks of respect due to their public character, and with all the assurances of personal regard. For Scot he had, indeed, professed particular friendship; but that friendship, like all his other professions and oaths, was now forgotten. A declaration made by Scot in the House, after the return of the excluded

members, concerning the part he had taken in the judgment given against the King, was used at his trial as an aggravating circumstance, and was given in evidence against him by the time-serving Lenthall, and by Annesly, one of the judges.

In all these trials, the triumph of the prevailing party was displayed with the utmost indecency; and, when the prisoner was insisting on the legislative powers of Parliament, he was stopped short by the Court; and Finch, with a passionate accent told him, that his doctrine was poisonous and blasphemous; and, if he proceeded on the same point, he should desire the jury to be immediately directed. To this provocation, Scot calmly replied, "My lord, I thought you would rather have been my counsel, as I think it is the duty of your office."

Colonel Adrian Scroop, though he had surrendered on the King's Proclamation, was excepted by the Commons from the Act of Indemnity, through the treacherous and voluntary evidence of Brown, who had the baseness to betray a private conversation, in which, as it was construed, Scroop had expressed approbation of the sentence on the late King.

Coke, whose eminent abilities as a lawyer had unfortunately advanced him to the office of Solicitor for the Commonwealth, was one of the victims marked for sacrifice in the Act of Indemnity. It was by the treachery of Sir Charles Coote that he was put into the hands of the Court. That rapacious time-server had, during the power of the Republicans and the usurpation of

Cromwell, used his influence with the government to enrich himself at the expense of the royal party. No sooner did the prospect of a revolution in favour of the banished family begin to open, than he was among the first of the deserters, and employed the power he had in Ireland to the double advantage of wiping off old scores with the new government by a zealous attention to the purposes of their revenge, and to the extension of his ill-gotten possessions by the plunder of his old friends. On the first news that the Convention Parliament had acknowledged the title of Charles, he seized Ludlow's Irish estate, and the person of Coke, while the latter was yet executing the office of Chief Justice, and sent him prisoner to England.

Coke rested his defence partly on the principles of reason and justice, and partly on the refinements of law. He argued that he could not justly be brought within the charge of propounding, counselling, contriving, and imagining the King's death, as by the confession of his accusers, the Proclamation for his trial was published the day before he was appointed solicitor; that he had, on these reasons, neither acted in the character of accuser, witness, jury, judge, or executioner; that he had acted by the authority of Parliament; and, in the office of Solicitor, had argued as a mere lawyer, who is not supposed to be accountable for the badness of his cause." Though some of these arguments must, at least, have puzzled the bench and counsel, they had little weight with a pre-determined jury, who implicitly followed the direction of the judges in giving a verdict against all the prisoners.

Hugh Peters was found guilty of preaching rebellion; Colonel Axtell of attending on military duty the high court of justice; Colonel Hacker of guarding the King on the day of execution, and Howlet of acting the part of executioner. An aggravating circumstance in Axtell's conduct was his having cried out for execution, while in the performance of his military duty; but against Hacker no circumstance of aggravation was alleged. Monk had given to him also assurances of indemnification, but the never-to-be-forgiven sin in Hacker, was his steadiness to the Republican cause. He had refused to support the usurpation of Richard Cromwell, though he had, in a manner, forced knighthood upon him; and he had continued in command of his regiment till he was taken into custody.

To the general plea of having acted under the authority of Parliament, Axtell and Hacker added that, by martial law, they should have been subject to death for disobedience of orders; and, though it was fully proved that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman, had confessed the act of taking away the King's life, and there was not a single fact produced by the crown witnesses in support of the indictment against Howlet, yet the three last-mentioned victims were delivered over, without hesitation, to the vengeance of the court.

Colonel Jones and Gregory Clement, finding every argument and plea ineffectual, submitted to the judgment of the court, without any defence.

Martin, one of those who had surrendered, on the faith of government, entered into a justification on the

ground of the authority of Parliament; and, when delivered over to the disposal of the government, by virtue of a clause in the Act of Indemnity, he was favoured with a respite of execution, till the pleasure of the King and Parliament should be known. Eighteen more, who stood in the same predicament with Martin, observing that justification or defence would be a bar to their obtaining mercy, confessed their guilt, and submissively sued for grace.

The execution of such of these convicted persons as were absolutely excepted from pardon was deferred till after the Convention Parliament had again met in November; and, though the punishment which the law ordains for treason is so repugnant to humanity that the most cruel part of it has been at all times dispensed with by the crown; yet, either from the want of a sympathizing tenderness which formed no part of the refinements of Charles's character, or from strong resentment of his father's sufferings, the sentence of those state-criminals was carried into execution with circumstances of the utmost barbarity and horror.

That the court might be entertained with this spectacle, Charing Cross was the stage appointed for the last act of the tragedy opened at the Old Bailey. On the 13th of November, Major-General Harrison was drawn to the place of execution; and, in the midst of an insulting mob, was butchered so exactly according to the strict letter of the law, that he was cut down alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire.[1] This last and

[1] See Pepys' Diary, Vol. i. p. 146.

most trying scene was marked by the same manly fortitude which had distinguished every former part of his conduct. His patience and spirit excited the astonishment, if they did not soften the prejudices, of the spectators.

Under the same circumstances, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Hacker, Coke, Axtell, and Peters, gave the same magnanimous testimony of principle, and of a strong conviction of the goodness of their cause. Vain were the attempts to discompose the steady countenance and heroic demeanour of Coke, by placing before him on the sledge the ghastly head of Harrison; and Peters, though of a more doubtful character than any of his partners in affliction, when, by the command of Turner, the officer on guard, and the barbarous acquiescence of the sheriff, he was brought forward to see one of the victims quartered, on being asked by the executioner, all stained with blood, "How he liked that work?" had the intrepidity to answer, "Do your worst!" and, when on the ladder, he addressed the sheriff thus: "Sir, you have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it, in order to terrify and discourage me; but God has permitted it for my support and justification."

Bridgeman, when passing sentence upon these men, had taken great pains to persuade them, for the good of their souls, to give some token of repentance before execution; but the prisoners, who could not be induced to think that a man who had shown a high degree of malice against their bodies, could have any charitable

concern for their souls, paid no regard to his exhortation, and totally disappointed the government of any triumph of that kind.

If the unfortunate victims were spared none of the circumstances of horror authorized by law, neither were the inhabitants of the metropolis exempted from the ghastly spectacle of their heads and mangled bodies, set upon poles, on Westminster Hall, the City Gate, and London Bridge. Evelyn, under date of October 17, mentions by name four of them who suffered on that day, and adds, "I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled and cut and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle." The only reflection made by the loyal and pious writer on this horrible sight, is, "Oh! the miraculous providence of God!"

CHAPTER V.

Death of the Duke of Gloucester.—The Princess of Orange visits the King.—Connection of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde.—He explains the affair to his brother.—Heartless conduct of the Chancellor.—Indignation of the Queen.—Confession of Sir Charles Berkeley.—Cruel treatment of Anne Hyde.—Death of the Princess of Orange.—Alteration in the Queen's behaviour.—Her interview with Lord Clarendon.—Brutality of the Duke of Buckingham.—Personal appearance of Henrietta.—Sums voted to the Royal family.—Death of the Queen of Bohemia.—Settlement of the King's revenue.—The Convention Parliament.—A pretended plot.—Bad policy of the Duke of York.—Disturbances in London of the Fifth Monarchy Men.—Their desperation and fate.—New regiments raised.—Arrangements in the Palace.—Act of Attainder.—Impotent revenge.—The Nineteen Convicts.—Degradation of other prisoners.—Execution of Okey, Corbet, and Berkstead.—Petition in favour of Sir Henry Vane.—His defence.—Account of his execution.—His public career.—Search for the precise spot of the interment of Charles I.

IN the month of September, 1660, the nation, as well as the royal family, sustained a loss in the decease of the Duke of Gloucester, whose conduct, under very trying circumstances, bespoke solid

and estimable qualities of heart and mind, and justified anticipations of a career of honour and usefulness. This Prince, whom, at his return to England, Pepys mentions as being "a very pretty boy," was seized with small-pox, which proved fatal on the 13th of September, "by the great negligence of the doctors," says the same writer, who further notes that on the 21st, being upon the river, he "saw the corpse of the Duke brought down Somerset House stairs, to go by water to Westminster to be buried."

On the 25th of the same month, the Princess of Orange, who was met at Margate by the King and the Duke in their barges, arrived in town, to congratulate her brother on his Restoration; and, on the 2nd of November, the Queen-mother, accompanied by the Princess Henrietta and the Prince Palatine Edward, came from France to join in the family triumph. Her visit had other and far more important objects. Ever too fond of exercising her influence in the cabinet, she was desirous of strengthening the King's attachment to the French Court by the ties of matrimonial alliance, and to secure his assent to a match entirely of her own contriving, between his sister Henrietta and the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV.; but her wish to effect this marriage fell infinitely short of her anxiety to prevent another.

The connexion between the Duke of York and Anne Hyde, the eldest daughter of the Chancellor, was at this time the topic of general conversation. Appointed at the express desire of the Princess-Royal one of her

maids of honour, she had attended her in 1657, upon a visit to the Queen-mother at Paris. There the Duke of York first saw and admired her. Trained up in the Court of his sister, which was almost a school of amorous intrigues, possessing personal charms and a fascinating address, she artfully inflamed his passion to such a degree, that he resolved to offer her marriage; and, in the winter of 1659, they were contracted at Breda.

As soon as the King was settled on the throne, the Chancellor sent for his daughter, who was still abroad, awaiting a favourable issue of the affair. On her arrival, the Duke took an early opportunity of acquainting the King with the violence of his passion, and the intercourse which had taken place between him and the lady. He admitted that they had been affianced at Breda, that she would shortly become a mother, and declared that his happiness depended on an honourable union with her. Then, falling on his knees, he earnestly besought his Majesty to permit him to marry her publicly. The King was perplexed; but, finding that matters had gone so far that the parties had been privately married by the Duke's chaplain, he thought it best to yield to necessity, and told his brother, with his usual pleasantry, that "what was done could not be undone; and that he must drink as he had brewed."

Though the affection of the Duke for the lady was so notorious when abroad, that it was not possible for her parents to be unacquainted with it, the Chancellor

affected utter ignorance of the matter. He tells us that the King deputed the Marquis of Ormond and the Earl of Southampton to confer with him on the subject; and his conduct on this occasion is represented by himself to have been so gross, so heartless, so unnatural, as to be really incredible. He alleges that the first intimation he had of his daughter's situation was from the above-mentioned noblemen; that he was thunderstruck by the intelligence, and declared that he would turn her out of his house to shift for herself, and never see her again. When they strove to pacify him, he protested that he had much rather his daughter should be the Duke's mistress than his wife. In the former case, nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep such a character for the greatest prince alive; "but, if there were any reason to suppose the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, in which he hoped their lordships would concur, that the King should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon under so strong a guard that no person living should be admitted to come to her, and then that an Act of Parliament should be passed for cutting off her head; to which he would not only give his consent, but very willingly be the first man that should propose it."[1] At this moment,

[1] History of the Reign of King Charles II. from the Restoration to the year 1677. The copy of that work which came into the author's hands, when collecting materials for these volumes, had, he concludes from the name written on

the King entered, and the Chancellor assures us that he repeated to his Majesty the same heartless counsel that he had given to the two lords.

Notwithstanding the simulated indignation of the Chancellor, the affair was settled in the beginning of September; but, as the Princess of Orange and the Queen-mother were shortly expected, the Duke thought it advisable to defer the public avowal of his marriage till he could gradually soften the prejudices of those who he knew would be averse to it. Meanwhile, the Chancellor, when the subject was submitted to the Privy Council, testified such readiness to sacrifice the feelings of a father to the honour of the Crown, resolved that no disgrace should be put upon the family of a man who appeared so disinterested and unambitious.

On the arrival of the Princess of Orange, this matrimonial business took an unexpected turn. The Duke discontinued his private visits to the lady, and a general report prevailed that the match was broken off. The Queen had previously written to the Duke a very sharp letter, full of indignation that he should think of de-

the blank page, once belonged to Sir Philip Francis, who has left a few manuscript-observations on particular passages. "It is difficult," he writes on that above quoted, "to conceive, or believe, that the marriage could have taken place abroad in Charles's little Court, without the knowledge, or suspicion of the Chancellor, considering that there were witnesses enough to the marriage. His passion afterwards, that 'he would be the first man very willingly to propose an Act of Parliament for cutting off her head,' &c., is all false, and would be flagitious, if it were possible it could be sincere."

grading himself by marrying such a woman; and now she sent word to the King that she was on the way to England, "to prevent with her authority so great a stain and dishonour to the Crown."

The Chancellor's enemies now anticipated his certain downfall. The King nevertheless behaved to him throughout the whole affair in a manner peculiarly gracious. He gave him £20,000 out of the £50,000 sent to him by the Parliament while at the Hague, and created him a baron just before the arrival of the Queen. As for the Duke, his firmness was shaken not only by the vehemence of his mother's indignation, but also by a confession of Sir Charles Berkeley (nephew of Lord Berkeley), captain of his guard, and devoted to the Queen's service, who declared that he felt bound, in conscience, to preserve him from taking to wife a woman so wholly unworthy of him, solemnly swearing that he had himself enjoyed her favours, and was willing, for his sake, to marry her, though well aware of the familiarity subsisting between her and the Duke. The latter now denied his marriage to the Queen, and promised never to see again a woman who had been so false to him.

Another heartless scene attended the delivery of the unfortunate lady. It shall be related in the Chancellor's own words. In the meantime, the season of his daughter's delivery was at hand; and it was the King's chance to be at his house with the committee of council when she fell in labour, of which being advertised by her father, the King directed him to send for the Marquis of Ormond, the Countess of Sunderland, and other

ladies of known honour and fidelity to the Crown, to be present with her, who all came, and were with her till she was delivered of a son. "The Bishop of Winchester, in the interval of her great pangs, and sometimes when they were upon her, was present, and asked her such questions as were thought fit for the occasion —whose the child was of whom she was in labour? whom she averred, with all protestations, to be the Duke's—whether she had ever known any other man? which she renounced with all vehemence, saying she was confident the Duke did not think she had—and, being asked whether she was married to the Duke, she answered she was, and that there were witnesses enough who, in due time, she was confident, would avow it." In a word, her behaviour was such as abundantly satisfied the ladies who were present of her innocence from the reproach.

Just at this time, the Princess-Royal was seized with the same disease which had very lately carried off her youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester. It proved fatal in a few days to the Princess, who, in her last agonies, expressed her concern for the share she had taken in the defamation of an innocent person.[1] The

[1] The Princess died on the 24th of December, at the age of twenty-nine, and was buried at midnight, on the 29th, in Westminster Abbey. She was laid in the Stuart vault, by the side of her brother, Gloucester. By some writers she is represented as a woman of light and censurable conduct, and as the gay companion of Charles in his looser pleasures. It is even alleged that, following the example of her mother, she chose Henry Jermyn, Master of the Horse to the Duke

Duke became melancholy and dispirited, and shunned society. This change is said by Clarendon to have had such an effect on Berkeley, that he went to the Duke, confessed that the charge which he had preferred against the lady was false and unfounded, and devised only to save his Royal Highness from what was considered to be an unsuitable and mischievous match.

The Duke, in consequence of this intimation, renewed his visits, which, coming to the ears of his mother, incensed her to such a degree that she declared publicly that, whenever that woman should be brought into Whitehall by one door, her Majesty would go out of it by another door, and never come into it again. For several days, she would not suffer the Duke to be in her presence; or, if he came with the King, she forbore to speak to him, or to take any notice of him.[1] Yet, before her departure for France, where she habitually resided, the Queen, on the interposition, as it was alleged, of Cardinal Mazarine, completely changed her behaviour to the Duke.

Mistress of the profoundest dissimulation, and capable

of York, to solace the years of her widowhood. Be this as it may, so much is certain, that her attention was not wholly engaged with frivolous amusements, or amorous intrigues. She had kept her husband, the Prince of Orange, steady to the support of her father's tottering cause, and used her utmost interest with the States for the protection of her exiled brothers. At any rate, whatever may have been her failings, she has one claim to the regard of Englishmen—she was the mother of William III., to whom they owe the preservation of their liberties and constitution.

[1] Life of Clarendon, Vol. i. p. 138.

of dressing her face in smiles to those against whom she bore implacable resentment in her heart, she affected to be convinced of the propriety of giving her consent and maternal blessing to the marriage; and, when the Duke, in consequence, presented his wife to her, she received her with as great a show of affection as if she had cordially approved the match from the beginning. She went still further in the work of political reconciliation: she expressed a wish, before her departure for France, to become good friends with the Chancellor.

After the adjustment of some preparatory formalities, among which she insisted that the Chancellor should pay the first visit to the Earl of St. Albans, her Master of the Horse, Lord Clarendon, waited upon her Majesty. Rising from her chair, as he entered, she received him with perfectly serene countenance, and said that "he could not wonder, much less take it ill, that she had been much offended with the Duke, and unwilling to consent to the marriage; and if, in the passion that could not be condemned in her, she had said anything of him which he had taken ill, he ought to impute it to the provocation that she had received, though not from him." She proceeded to say that "she was now assured by the King that he had no hand in contriving the match, but was really offended at it, with a passion really worthy of him; and she could not but confess that his fidelity to the King, her husband, was very eminent, and that he had served the King, her son, with equal fidelity and extraordinary success; and therefore, as she had received his daughter as her daughter,

and heartily forgave the Duke and her, and was resolved to live ever after with all the affection of a mother towards them, so she was resolved to make friendship with him, and thereafter to expect all the good offices from him that her kindness should deserve."[1]

The Chancellor made the most respectful acknowledgments; and, after a further interchange of professions, which on one side, at least, were very sincere, he kissed her Majesty's hand, and took his leave.[2]

The Queen was of small stature, but reckoned handsome. Her countenance was pleasing, her manners sprightly, and her fidelity to her husband undoubted. But a naturally haughty and violent temper had been confirmed by early habits, while her religion, and the ideas imbibed by her in infancy, regarding the unlimited obedience of the subject, were repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen. The unhappy terms on which she at first lived with her husband, terminated with the life of Buckingham, the envious disturber of her peace, and she immediately began to acquire that ascendancy over Charles which proved calamitous to both.

[1] Life of Clarendon, Vol. i. p. 402.

[2] "All this part of Lord Clarendon's narrative," it is remarked in one of those manuscript annotations which the author attributes to the pen of Sir Philip Francis, "seems probable, and quite credible. No man can read it without believing that this vain beldam, who makes such a rout about her son's marriage and *mésalliance*, was married to St. Alban's. On what other ground than his being the husband of the Queen-mother, could the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, be called on to pay the first visit to that upstart?"

That profligate favourite, indeed, on the arrival of the Queen in England, fearing lest her influence with Charles might thwart his designs, took great pains to lessen the King's affections towards her, while he treated herself with downright brutality. One day, imagining that the Queen had shown some disrespect to his mother, he entered her chamber in great anger, and, after some rude expostulations, told her she "should repent it." The Queen answered with some quickness, when he audaciously replied, "that there had been Queens of England who had lost their heads." We cannot wonder at the effects of Buckingham's interference, especially as the violent temper of the Queen, and the conduct of her servants and attendants, gave so great an advantage over her. Matters proceeded to such extremity that she wished to return to her native country, and the Duke had the assurance to propose himself for her conductor; and the indignant rejection of this proposal by the French Court is alleged to have confirmed his intention of a war.

Almost immediately after the enactment of this farce of reconciliation with a man whom the Queen-mother most cordially hated, because his honesty was a main obstacle to the attainment of her ambitious ends, she set out on her return to France, but was detained some days at Portsmouth, after she had embarked, because the Princess Henrietta was attacked with the measles. At the time of this visit, her Majesty is described by Pepys as "a very little plain old woman, having nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garb than

any ordinary woman. The Princess Henrietta," he further says, "is very pretty, but much below my expectation: and her dressing of herself, with her hair frizzed short up to her ears, did make her seem so much the less to me."

The Parliament having met on the 6th of November, soon after the Queen's arrival, appointed a committee to compliment her, and presented her with £20,000, and voted £10,000 to each of her daughters; but, in consequence of the death of the Princess of Orange, the sum destined for her was ordered to be paid to her executors. Parliament also charged the excise with £10,000, to be paid to the executors of the Duke of Gloucester, and £20,000 for the King's aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, who was not then in England, but came over from Holland in the following May, and died on the 13th of February, 1662. From this Princess is descended the present reigning family of Great Britain; the Act of Settlement, the last and the most glorious of the reign of William III., having secured the succession to the crown to the sole survivor of her children, Sophia, electress of Hanover, mother of George I.

The House of Commons then proceeded to the raising of supplies for the public exigencies and the settlement of the King's revenue. They passed an Act for granting him £420,000, to be raised by a six months' assessment at £70,000 per month, to begin on the 1st of January. But as this sum was for public uses, they passed another for speedily raising £70,000 for defray-

ing the expenses of the King's Coronation. They charged the arrears of the excise with £31,000 for the Duke of York, and £10,000 for persons who had rendered the King particular services during his exile. They also passed a very extraordinary Act to empower the city of London to impose an arbitrary tax on the inhabitants to defray the expenses incurred in preparing for the King's entry. This was probably intended as an acknowledgment to the city for having given a very luxurious and splendid treat to the King, the Princes his brothers, the great officers of the crown, and both Houses of Parliament, on the 5th of July.

One step more the Commons, in the warmth of their devotion, seemed willing to take. This was the renewal and confirmation of a former vote to grant the King a revenue of £1,200,000 a year. If the Parliament was not allowed to sit long enough to settle the funds for raising this revenue, it was owing to the contrariety of opinions in the cabinet on the subject. In consequence of the King's boundless profusion, his wants were such that all people knew that the best way of paying court to him was to suggest new resources. The Duke of York was not less forward to encourage the like proposals, as they tended to promote his darling schemes of arbitrary power, by rendering the crown more independent of Parliamentary aids. A settled revenue, to a considerable amount, was, therefore, the fondest object of the wishes of both; and there wanted not members of great influence in the House of Commons, who engaged to carry such a mea-

sure through, if they were vigorously supported by the adminiinistration.

Though the author of the "Secret History" suppresses the names of such traitors to their country, one of them has been consigned, in other records of those times, to the just detestation of posterity. This was Alexander Popham, one of the leaders of the House of Commons, who assured the King that, with the aid of the Court party, he could procure an Act for settling on his Majesty and his successsors two millions a year, which would relieve him and them from a dependance on Parliament, except in extraordinary cases. The King caught at the proposal with avidity, and spoke of it to the Chancellor in terms of the warmest approbation. The Chancellor's reply must ever do him honour. "The best revenue your Majesty can have," said he, "is the affection of your subjects. Trust to them, and you will never want supplies in time of need." It is said that the Chancellor's opposition to this measure, and his successful exertions in bringing over other members of the cabinet to his way of thinking, were not forgotten, and proved the chief causes of his dismissal from office.

The Convention Parliament was obnoxious to the Court, on various accounts. It could not be induced to acquiesce in the deep-laid plan for crushing the Presbyterians. Notwithstanding its unparalleled votes of supply, and, in many instances, of servility, it was not ready enough to go all lengths. It was not sufficiently prodigal of Republican blood, in the case of the

regicides: it had rejected a Militia Bill, brought in by the courtiers, after the model of that proposed in one of Cromwell's Parliaments for settling major-generals: it seemed tenacious of some of its privileges, appeared too sensible of the magnitude of subsidies, and had not totally forgotten, though it for some time neglected the ancient custom of making the redress of grievances always precede the grant of supplies; it was not likely to approve of a treaty now secretly carrying on for the marriage of the King to a Papist. On the contrary, it had listened with marks of approbation to the advice of one of its members, who thought the King ought to be petitioned to marry into a Protestant family. It cannot, therefore, be matter of surprize that a cabinet, under the influence of the Duke of York, should have been ready to sign the death-warrant of the Convention Parliament, which was dissolved on the 29th of December, 1660.

The Chancellor, in a speech supplementary to the King's, touched upon a conspiracy against his Majesty's person and government, and for which several individuals had been apprehended.[1]

[1] Notwithstanding the "strong information laid," as he said, "before the council," there is no doubt that the whole was a sham plot, patched up by the Duke of York's contrivance, and too readily believed by the Chancellor, on account of his extreme jealousy of the army, and his strong prejudices against the Presbyterians. Desborough, Morgan, Overton, and some others who had served under Cromwell, were apprehended; and, to give greater colour to the alleged conspiracy, the court-agents employed one Browne, a renegade of the

In the mean time, the Duke of York's favourite plan was pursued to keep alive the alarm of plots and conspiracies, and thus to furnish new pretexts for persecution and rigour. Spies, who were too much encouraged since the Restoration, crowded about the Court, and were sure to invent, if they could not discover, what they knew would gratify the wishes, and answer the purposes of their employers. Packets of treasonable letters were intercepted, and informations were daily laid before the Privy Council, all stated with sufficient plausibility to frighten the timid, or to impose upon the credulous; but the dispassionate and unprejudiced saw very clearly the fatal source whence those contrivances originated.

A disturbance raised in the first days of the year 1661, by a party of insane fanatics, served but too well to gain credit for those rumours of plots. These were called Fifth Monarchy Men, because they imagined it to be their vocation to establish the kingdom of Christ upon earth, or the millennium, which, according to the mystical book of Revelations, is to follow the four great

Republican party, to draw in a few of his former associates, who, by the change of the times, were reduced to indigence, to some unguarded conversation, which was construed treason, and the poor men were capitally punished. Ludlow, in his Memoirs, when he mentions these and some similar manœuvres of the ministry, tells us that they were not ashamed to give out that their messengers had been so near him as to seize his cloak and slippers, and to commit two gentlemen who were in his company to the Tower, "though," he continues, "they knew so well where I was, that they had employed instruments to assassinate me in Switzerland."

kingdoms which successively possessed the dominion of the world. The leader of these men, named Venner, was a wine-cooper, and in easy circumstances. Having preached to his congregation, and fasted all day with them, he rushed at midnight with about thirty armed followers out of their meeting-house, having an ensign bearing the motto, "For the Lord God and Gideon." Running about the streets, they shouted, "Live King Jesus!" and called upon all that were for King Jesus to follow them, otherwise to keep close in their houses. A number of watchmen, hearing the noise, collected for the purpose of suppressing them, but durst not venture upon an attack; so that Venner marched through the town without opposition; and, as no more of his party were mad enough to join him, he betook himself, with his gang, to Caen Wood, near Highgate.

The King was at this time absent at Portsmouth, whither he had accompanied his mother and sister on their way to France. Albemarle, who was then at the Cockpit, being apprized of the riot, despatched his own troop of horse, which, being unacquainted with the country, and Venner keeping in the woods, failed to meet with him. After lurking there two or three days, the fanatics, quitting their retreat before it was light, marched into London, passing through Aldgate about seven in the morning, crying as before, "Live King Jesus!" and summoning all who were for him to join them. Meeting with no resistance there, they proceeded through Leadenhall, driving before them such loose men of the Militia as made their appearance; and,

passing on by the Old Exchange, advanced as far as Wood Street, where they were overtaken by a party of horse, which, on account of the narrowness of the street, could not break in upon them. By this time, the train-bands were stirring, and surrounded the rioters in such force, that these, who had been joined by two men only in their march through the City, were obliged to take refuge in a house, where they defended themselves.

While this was passing in the city, the Dukes of York and Albemarle, having no men left on guard, took horse by themselves for the scene of action; and, as they went on, were joined by so many of the nobility and gentry with their attendants, that, before they reached St. Paul's, they were at the head of a body of fifteen hundred horse. There they met the lord-mayor, Sir Richard Brown, who informed them that Venner and all his party, after a most desperate resistance, had been either killed or taken; that the militia, which besieged them, and had been ordered to dislodge them from the house where they had entrenched themselves, found it impossible to execute that order without firing, which, for good reasons, they abstained from doing, till at last one Lambert, a seaman, persuaded some of them to follow him and get up on the top of the house, which they did, and forced an entry in that way.

These desperate men were almost all killed or severely wounded before they could be mastered. One only asked for quarter, on which a wounded comrade, lying in the same room, endeavoured to kill him with his

sword, reviling him for being so mean as to beg his life. Venner, a powerful man, had defended himself so vigorously as to despatch several of his assailants, till, like many of his companions, he fell from the effect of his wounds. He had received no fewer than nineteen; and it was with great difficulty that the surgeons could keep him and several of his accomplices alive till they could be brought to trial and executed.

They made no other defence than what may be collected from the preceding narrative; and neither at their trial nor at their death, says Clarendon, did they express the least contrition for their extravagant attempt. Pepys, in his Diary, furnishes the following notes on these riotous proceedings:—

"Jan. 7. This morning news was brought to me that there had been a great stir in the City this night by the Fanatiques, who had been up and killed six or seven men, but all are fled. My lord-mayor and the whole City had been in arms, above 40,000." On the 8th he says, "My lord-mayor, Sir Richard Browne, hath carried himself very honourably, and caused one of their meeting-houses in London to be pulled down." Again, on the 9th: "Waked in the morning about six o'clock by people running up and down in Mr. Davis's house, talking that the Fanatiques were up in arms in the City. And so I rose and went forth; where, in the street, I found every body in arms at the doors. So I returned, and got my sword and pistol, which, however, I had no powder to charge, and went to the door, where I found Sir R. Ford, and with him I walked up

and down as far as the Exchange. In our way, the streets full of train-bands and great stir. What mischief these rogues have done! and I think near a dozen had been killed this morning on both sides. The shops shut and all things in trouble." And on the 10th: "Mr. Davis told us the particular examinations of those Fanatiques that are taken; and, in short, it is this: these Fanatiques, that have routed all the train-bands that they met with, put the King's life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the City-gates twice—and all this in the day-time, when all the City was in arms—are not in all above thirty-one. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City, and had been in Highgate two or three days and in several other places) to be at least five hundred. A thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief."

Monk's regiment of foot, which had the guard of Whitehall, was to have been disbanded on the following day; but, in consequence of this insane insurrection, it was thought advisable to defer that measure. The King, moreover, immediately gave orders for raising a new regiment of guards, to be commanded by Colonel John Russell; a regiment of horse, of which the Earl of Oxford was to be Colonel; a troop of horse-guards, to be commanded by Lord Gerard; and he also sent for the Duke of York's troop of guards, then at Dunkirk. He likewise gave commissions to two other noblemen to raise each a regiment of horse in their respective coun-

ties, which were not to be in present pay, but in readiness, in case there should be occasion for their services.

Clarendon alleges that, "though Parliament had voted Charles a revenue of £1,200,000 a-year, yet they gave nothing to the King himself but £70,000, to defray the expense of his Coronation, which he appointed to be in the beginning of the following May—all the rest being received and paid by those whom Parliament deputed for that purpose; so that this sum of £70,000 was all the money the King received, or had at his disposal, for a full year after his return to England. "He resolved forthwith to settle his house according to former rules, or, rather, without any rule; he directed his own table to be more magnificently furnished than it had ever been in any time of his predecessors; which example was easily followed in all offices..... And thus the King's house quickly appeared in full lustre, the eating and drinking very grateful to all men, and the charge and expense of it much exceeding the precedents of the most luxurious times; and this before there was any provision of ready money, or any assignation of a future fund to discharge and support it. All men were ready to deliver their goods upon trust, but the officers too remiss in computing the disbursements, insomuch as the debt contracted by these excesses in less than the first year broke all the measures in that degree that they could not suddenly be retrenched for the future; and the debt itself was not discharged in many years."

Agreeably to a Proclamation issued a few days before the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., the 30th

of January, was ordered to be thenceforward observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation.

The courtiers, to give a proof of their loyalty, and the King, to manifest his filial piety, carried their vengeance beyond the grave. On the meeting of Parliament, an Act of Attainder and forfeiture, against all the King's judges without any proviso, except in favour of Ingoldsby, passed both Houses, and to this Act was added an order that Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, should be taken out of their graves, drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, then hung up; that they should continue hanging from ten in the morning till sun-set, and then be buried under the gallows. This order was literally executed, and the heads of those extraordinary victims were afterwards set upon poles on the top of Westminster Hall, as suitable ornaments to that building in which the coronation-banquet was to be held.

Ingoldsby was indebted to Monk for his exemption from the fate of his colleagues, though he had concurred in the sentence on Charles I., and signed the warrant for his execution. Foreseeing the success of Monk's opposition to the Republican Parliament, he had the address to gain the confidence of the General, and, soon afterwards, distinguished himself by the pursuit and capture of Lambert. In consequence of this service, Monk not only recommended him to the King as a proper object of pardon, but even as deserving the honour of knighthood at the coronation.

The petty gratification of impotent revenge wreaked

on the remains of Cromwell and the others, excites, at most, a feeling of contempt: but the insult offered to those of the illustrious Blake, raises our indignation. "He was the first man," says Clarendon, who, though of the opposite party, does justice to Blake's professional character, "that brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been ever thought very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and, though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

To the eternal infamy of a shameless King and a degenerate people, be it also recorded, that Blake, who had so gloriously wielded the naval thunders of England, and acquired immortal honour in the service of his country, which he made rich and renowned, was the first man whose ashes were profaned by being dragged from their resting-place in Henry the Seventh's chapel, and flung, with common filth, into a pit in the street, by order of the Court, not long after the Restoration.

With respect to the nineteen convicts whose sentence had been respited on account of the clause of reserve in their favour which had been inserted in the Bill of Indemnity, it is certain that the Court-party

were at first strongly bent upon their execution. As, however, the majority of the House of Commons was decidedly against that last step of penal rigour, government thought it most politic to keep them in prison till the dissolution of the Convention Parliament, and to bring the matter before another House, less tenacious of the national honour. A year was, therefore, suffered to elapse, till the Pension Parliament, as it has since been emphatically called, had given proofs of its entire devotion to its paymasters. The fate of the nineteen prisoners was then to be decided. They were called up, and asked what they had to say why judgment should not be executed upon them? They pleaded the Proclamation of the 6th of June, on the faith of which they had surrendered, with the fullest confidence in the honour of the King, and in the mercy and generosity of their country. This plea seemed to make but little impression on a venal House. A Bill was brought in for their execution; but, after it had been read twice, shame prevailed over revenge, and the business was dropped in this advanced stage, though with a very bad grace and great apparent reluctance.

Before the Pension Parliament could foresee that chance or treachery would put any other victims in their power, they took care, in their first session in 1661, to provide for the expiatory observance of the anniversary of the late King's martyrdom, on the 30th of January following. They ordered that on that day, Lord Munson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop,

who were spared in the Act of Indemnity as to life, but made liable to other penalties, should be dragged with ropes about their necks upon sledges through the streets of London to the gallows at Tyburn, and then conveyed to the Tower, there to remain prisoners during their lives.

In the course of the following year, 1662, other sacrifices were found to propitiate the wrath of offended royalty. Three of the late King's judges, Okey, Corbet, and Berkstead, having fled from England, and, like all other fugitives of that class, been excepted from pardon, had received protection from the town of Hanau in Germany, but were decoyed from their retreat by the treachery of Sir George Downing, the King's resident at the Hague. This very Downing had once been chaplain to Okey's regiment; and, on his recommendation, had been appointed agent to the Commonwealth in Holland. He secured his continuance in this post by perfidy to his old masters; and, to complete his villany, and enhance his merit with the present rulers, he assured Okey that he had not received any orders to look after him, or his comrades. On the faith of these assurances, and to enjoy the happiness of a meeting with their families, they repaired to Delft, in Holland. Downing immediately applied for a warrant for their apprehension, which the States were obliged, by an article of a late treaty made with England, to grant. They were now sent home for trial and execution.

These refugees were all men of reputation, who had

been eminently trusted by the Commonwealth, and they submitted to their fate with cheerfulness for a cause which they had early supported from a conviction of its truth. Miles Corbet was a gentleman of an ancient family in Norfolk. He had studied the law in the society of Lincoln's Inn, and had been chosen to serve in the several Parliaments called during a period of thirty-seven years. Being appointed one of the high court of justice for the trial of the late King, he did not appear among the judges on account of some scruples which he had entertained concerning that measure, till the day on which sentence was pronounced. But, on mature consideration, he found those scruples, as he said, to be of no weight, and on that fatal day went early into the court, that he might give a public testimony of his concurrence with the proceedings. He was afterwards one of the commissioners for the civil government of Ireland, in which office he manifested such integrity that he was continued in it for many years, and impaired his own fortune for the public service. The day before his execution, he assured his friends that he was so thoroughly convinced of the justice and even the necessity of the act for which he was to die, that, if it had been yet to do, he could not refuse to act as he had done, without affronting his reason, and opposing the dictates of his conscience: adding, that the immorality, the lewdness, and the corruption of all the sects which had been introduced and encouraged since the late

Revolution, were no inconsiderable justification of the steps taken by the Republican Parliament.

If the execution of Corbet and his companions was owing to the villany of Downing, the death of the more illustrious and more formidable Vane, who suffered soon afterwards, was the effect of deceit and treachery in a much higher quarter. As neither he nor Lambert had sat in judgment on the King, the lower House of the Convention Parliament strenuously contended for their being included in the Act of Indemnity. The Lords as strenuously insisted that they should be excepted; and both Houses were equally obstinate on the point, till the Chancellor, after intimating that Vane and Lambert were regarded by the court as persons of such mischievous activity as to render it necessary to keep the rod of power over them, assured the Commons that their lives would be safe in the King's hands, if the Parliament thought it right to prefer a petition in their favour. This assurance, from such a quarter, brought the matter to a compromise. The Lords were content with the exception; the Commons trusted in the King's honour, and both Houses agreed to present the following petition:

"Your Majesty having decelard your gracious pleasure to proceed only against the murderers of your royal father, we, your Majesty's most humble subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled, not finding Sir Henry Vane nor Colonel Lambert to be of the number, are humble suitors to your Majesty that, if they shall be attainted, execution of their lives may be remitted."

As this petition was an expedient proposed by the crown, professedly for the preservation of the lives of those whom it concerned, and as the prayer of it was granted in the fullest terms, the King, as it was supposed, was doubly bound to keep his word. The sequel proves that his interference proceeded from no other design but to make those who had been anxious for their safety, the instruments of their destruction.

No sooner had the Pension Parliament received their cue, than they passed an order that Vane and Lambert, being wholly excepted and foreprized out of the Act of Indemnity, should be left to be proceeded against according to law: and, three weeks afterwards, the attorney-general was ordered to prepare evidence, and speed the prosecution.

Sir Henry, in defending his conduct while in a situation where the fulfilment of a public trust required his opposition to the pretensions of the King, did not fail to take every advantage which the state of the law and the nature of the charge afforded. "The cause," he observed, among other things, which moved his late Majesty to depart from his Parliament, and remain for many years not only at a distance, but disjunction from it, and at last in a declared posture of enmity and war against it, are well known, and fully stated in print, not to say written in characters of blood. I shall, therefore, only observe that, out of these public differences and disputes, doth the particular case arise, for which I am called in question, who, having received trust in reference to the safety and preservation of the king-

dom in those times of imminent danger, both within and without, I did conscientiously hold myself obliged to be true and faithful therein; nor was it for any private ends to profit myself, or to enrich my relations, which may appear as well by the great debt which I have contracted as by the destitute condition which my many children are in as to any provision which I have been able to make for them: and I do publicly challenge all persons whatsoever to give information of any bribes, or covert ways, used by me, during the whole time of my public acting. Therefore, I hope it will be evident to the consciences of the jury, that what I have done hath been upon principles of integrity, honour, justice, reason, and conscience, and not, as is suggested in the indictment, by instigation of the devil, and the want of the fear of God.

"All the violences," he said, "which were put on the Parliament and the person of the Sovereign he had ever condemned: nor did he once appear in the House for some time before and after the execution of the King. But, finding the whole government flung into disorder, he was still resolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the Commons, the root, the foundation of all authority; and, in prosecution of this principle, he had fully undergone all the violences of Cromwell's government."

In pleading for an arrest of judgment, he told the Court that "the matter was of more consequence than his life and estate. It is," he continued, "the concern both of the dead and living. Had nothing been in it but to pre-

serve my own life, I needed not to have staid in England, but might have taken the opportunity to provide for my safety. But, my Lords, I have otherwise learned Christ, than to fear those who can kill the body only. I have also taken notice in the little reading which I have had of history, how glorious the very heathen have rendered their names to posterity in the contempt which they have shown of death, when the laying down their life hath appeared to be their duty from the love they owed to their country."

When the prisoner desired counsel to argue certain questions, the judges stopped him in the middle of the second; and refused, contrary to the express words of the statute of Edward III., to set the seals to his bill of exceptions, and over-ruled the plea by a forced and arbitrary interpretation, which affected the security of every citizen, pretending that the law of the statute did not take place in criminal cases for life.

During the interval between his sentence and execution, Sir Henry gave incontestable proofs of his perfect tranquillity of mind; and when, on the eve of his execution, his friends urged him to endeavour to save his life by submission to the King, he replied: "If his Majesty does not think himself more concerned for his honour and word than I am for my life, I am very willing he should take it; and I declare that I value my life less in a good cause than the King does his promise."

On the scaffold, his countenance and manner were so serene and composed, that, while talking to a party

of his friends, the spectators cried out, "Which is the man who is to suffer? Which is Sir Henry Vane?" The prisoner thereupon, stepping forward, saluted the multitude on each side of the scaffold with his hat off, and then returned to his company. In his speech to the people, as he was relating some circumstances of the irregularity of the proceedings against him, Sir John Robinson told him "he lied," to which Vane calmly replied, "God will judge between me and you. I speak but matter of fact. It is evident that the judges have refused to sign my bill of exceptions."

On this, a number of drummers and trumpeters, placed for the purpose on the scaffold, drowned his voice with their instruments. Sir Henry, laying his hand on his breast, said, "What mean you, gentlemen?" and added: "Seeing that the judges have refused to seal with their hands that which they have done, I am come to seal with my blood that which I have done." He was proceeding to give some account of his life, and of the obligations of the Covenant, when his voice was again drowned by the trumpets; and, at length, after various interruptions of the same kind, and after several attempts had been made to snatch away the paper which he held in his hand, he tore his notes in pieces, and prepared for the block.

Just before the fatal stroke, he uttered the following thanksgiving and prayer. "I bless the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his name. Blessed be the Lord that I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day! I bless the Lord that I have never

deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer! Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country!" While the hand of the executioner was suspended over the head of this illustrious sufferer, it was remarked by the spectators, and in particular by a curious and ancient traveller, that, "his countenance did not change, and that his nerves were so little affected by the violent and fatal stroke, that, contrary to every other instance in which he had seen the same kind of death inflicted, his head lay perfectly still immediately after it was separated from the body."

Descended from an ancient family, and born in 1612, Sir Henry Vane received the rudiments of his education at Westminster school, and completed his studies at the University of Oxford. In his travels, he spent some time in France, but chiefly at Geneva, and there, it was said, he contracted a dislike to the liturgy and Church of England. But, as his deportment, even at the age of sixteen, showed him to be a youth of deep thought, and grave reflection; and, as he avoided the prescribed oaths and subscriptions by refusing to become a member of the University, it is probable that his religious and civil principles were founded at a still earlier period of life. On his return from Geneva, they attracted so much notice that it was recommended to the King, to take some method of correcting his judgment. Laud undertook the task, and, by his frequent conferences and reproofs, rendered Sir Henry's life so uneasy, that, in 1634, he went to America, and two

years afterwards, was elected governor of Massachusets Bay.

On his return to England in 1639, he was joined with Sir William Russell in the office of treasurer of the Navy, through the interest of his father, who was comptroller of the household to Charles I. He represented Hull in the Parliament which met in April, 1640, and was re-elected for the same place in November following. In this field of action, his abilities, together with the steady and invariable disposition which he manifested for the enlargement of public freedom, procured him the full confidence of the popular party. In June, 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines convened by an ordinance of Parliament to be consulted as to the best means of settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England: and, in the following month, he was sent with other commissioners into Scotland, to negociate a treaty between the two nations. The result was the subscription of the solemn League and Covenant.

His abilities for negociation were likewise displayed in the commission for reconciling the differences which had arisen in 1647, between the military and civil powers: also in the two treaties with the King at Uxbridge, and in the Isle of Wight. After the execution of the unfortunate monarch, Sir Henry was entrusted by the Parliament with the principal business of the State. It was in an especial manner owing to his vigilance, wisdom, and sagacity, that the naval power of England was carried by the Republic to a height which

struck terror into other European States; and, in the office of Treasurer of the Navy, he exhibited an instance of disinterested virtue, unknown in the annals of this country.

When the authority of the Parliament was overturned by the intrigues and violence of Cromwell, Sir Henry retired into private life, and all the promises, threats, and persecution of the usurper could not prevail upon him to prostitute his talents by employing them in his service. As soon as affairs assumed a more favourable aspect, he returned to active life; was the principal instrument in deposing Richard Cromwell, and restoring the power of Parliament; and, through all the confusions occasioned by the ambition of the military leaders, he proved himself the steady partizan of democratic power in the State, and of religious liberty in the Church.

Sir Henry suffered on Tower Hill, on the 14th of June, 1662. He left one son, who paid so little respect to the memory of his illustrious parent, as to accept, after his death, the honour of knighthood from Charles II. He was ennobled by William III., by the title of Lord Barnard, of Barnard Castle.

As Sir Henry's execution was a flagrant breach of the King's solemn promise to the Convention Parliament, great pains were taken by the agents of the Court to spread reports of the prisoner's provoking insolence at his trial, which alone, they said, was a sufficient bar to the extension of the royal mercy. In proof of this, they urged the reprieve granted to Lam-

bert, who was condemned at the same time with Vane, but whose sentence of death was changed into confinement for life in the island of Guernsey. But besides that, the Popish interest, which had most weight with the Duke of York, was exerted to save Lambert, government found, from his abject behaviour, that he was more an object of contempt than of terror; and therefore willingly spared the life of a man who had been the instrument of all the confusions which co-operated to the ruin of the Commonwealth, that the show of lenity, in this instance, might palliate the injustice, the cruelty, and the perfidiousness of abandoning Sir Henry Vane to the axe of the executioner.

The King had resolved, before he came to England, that, as soon as he found himself securely settled on the throne, and without apprehension of further troubles, he would remove the remains of his father from Windsor, where they were interred, and deposit them with due solemnity and magnificence in Westminster Abbey, and that the Court should continue in mourning till the Coronation. To the dissatisfaction of many well-disposed people, this intention was not carried into effect. Two reasons were alleged for the omission —that it would not be prudent to re-kindle old animosities by the spectacle of a public funeral, and that there were no funds for defraying the expense which the ceremony would require. Clarendon, however, informs us that the real reason was of a different kind.

When the late King was put to death, Windsor had a garrison, of which the commander, officers, and

men, were Anabaptists. They had broken down all the wainscot, rails, and partitions which divided the church, defaced all the monuments and other marks, and reduced the whole into the form of a stable or barn; indeed, the building (the present St. George's Chapel) was scarcely fit for any other use, when Cromwell ordered the royal body to be privately interred there. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, obtained leave to be present at the burial of their master, attended each by three servants only. But they found the place so wild and strange, and their attention was too much engrossed by the mournful ceremony, to allow them to note the precise spot where the royal body was deposited, and no sooner was it under ground, than they were conducted out of the Castle to their lodgings in the town, and which they left next morning, and returned to their respective houses.

On the return of Charles II. to England, he reinstated the dean and chapter of Windsor, with directions to repair the Chapel, put it into the order in which it used to be, and commanded the dean to inform himself of the place in which the King's body had been interred, and to give him notice of it. Upon inquiry, the dean could not find a single person, either in the Castle or the town, who had been present at the burial, when the Parliament first seized the Castle, and put a garrison into it. Soon afterwards, they ejected not only the prebends and singing-men of the Chapel-Royal, but likewise all the officers and servants, who

had any relation to the King, or the church, excepting such as were notorious for their infidelity to both; and of these, or of the garrison, not a man was now to be found who had been present at the burial of the King. On receiving this account from the dean, the King sent to Windsor the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey—for the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford were both dead; and they took with them as many of the servants who had attended them at the funeral as were still living, but none of them had any recollection of the spot where the King's body lay. The workmen employed upon the new pavement, having found a particular place where the earth seemed to be lighter than elsewhere, imagined that it might be in or near this spot. They caused it, therefore, to be dug up and examined, but found nothing; and, on their return, the King gave up all further thought of inquiry, and the real cause of the disappointment was not publicly acknowledged.

CHAPTER VI.

Debts contracted by the King.—State of the Navy.—The Act of Uniformity.—The clergy ejected from their livings.—Seizure of Church-property.—Arrangements for the Coronation.—Description of the ceremony.—Profligacy at Court.—Some account of Lady Castlemaine.—Her marriage and dissolute life.—She gives birth to a daughter.—Her intimacy with the King.—Negociations for the alliance of Charles with the Infanta of Portugal.—Particulars relative to Catherine of Braganza.—Geographical blunder of Clarendon.—The King consults his Privy Council on the subject of his union.—Representations of the Spanish Ambassador.—He is ordered to quit the kingdom.—Policy of the Court of France.—The King's speech to Parliament, acquainting them with his resolution to take a consort.—Fleet sent over to fetch the Princess from Portugal.—Proceedings of the Earl of Sandwich.—Catherine embarks for England.—Her marriage at Portsmouth.—The King and Queen proceed to Hampton Court.

ORD CLARENDON tells us, as we have seen, that for a year and half after Charles's return to England, he had received from Parliament no more than the £70,000 assigned for his Coronation. The

consequence was that he had contracted debts, which, on their meeting in November 1661, he most earnestly recommended to their attention. Nor were these debts incurred solely for the supply of his personal necessities. "It will hardly be believed that in so warlike an age, and when the armies and fleets of England had made more noise in the world for twenty years, and fought more battles at land and sea, than all the world had done besides, and when, at his Majesty's return, there remained an hundred ships at sea, and an army of near threescore thousand men at land, there should not be in the Tower of London, and in all the stores belonging to the crown, fire-arms enough, nor indeed of any other kind, to arm three thousand men, nor powder and naval provisions enough to set out five ships of war."

From the death of Cromwell, no care had been taken for supplies of any of the stores; and the changes which ensued in the government, and in the officers, the continual opportunities which these had for embezzlement and the equipment of the fleet sent to fetch the King over from the continent, had drained the magazines to the degree mentioned before. This state of things the King was most anxious to conceal, that it might not be known, either at home or abroad, how ill prepared he was to meet an enemy. He appointed Sir William Compton, whom he knew he could entirely trust, Master of the Ordnance, made all the shifts that he could devise for money to supply the most urgent wants, and had laboured so effectually, that, at the

commencement of the first Dutch war, the naval magazines were more amply furnished with stores and provisions of all kinds than they had ever been under any former sovereign, or in the time of Cromwell himself.

By this Parliament was passed the Act of Uniformity, which provided that if any clergyman did not conform to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer before Bartholomew Day, which was about three months after the publication of the Act, he was *ipse facto* deprived of his benefice, or of any other spiritual promotion, and the patron was to present a successor as if he were dead. The King promised several of the Presbyterian clergy that the Act should not be rigorously enforced on the appointed day; but he would take care to have it dispensed with for three months longer, that they might have more leisure for consideration. This gave confidence to the party, and encouraged them to hold out, when, a little before the time, he informed them that there were weighty reasons why he ought not to fulfil so rash a promise. Accordingly, two thousand dissenting clergymen were expelled from their cures in one day. Here it should be remarked, that, under the rule of the Long Parliament, one-fifth of the livings had been left to the ejected clergy; but, by the present Act of retaliation, the Presbyterian ministers were deprived of all their possessions, and left without any visible means of support. It is evident from other parts of the King's conduct, that his design was to drive the dissenters to despair, and to make

them glad of a toleration on any terms in which the Papists might be comprehended.

Parliament having settled upon the Crown a constant revenue, which, according to the estimate they made, would amount to the yearly value of twelve hundred thousand pounds, a proportion double to what it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or perhaps any preceding sovereign; declared that, if it fell short of that sum, they would make good the deficiency at another meeting.

The Republican government, which had abolished alike royalty and episcopacy, had also sold the land belonging to the Crown and the Church. It was calculated that, by such purchases, more than 400,000 families were bound to the Parliament, a circumstance regarded by the latter as a great security against the restoration of monarchy. Charles, in his Declaration from Breda, had expressed his willingness to leave all matters relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, to be determined by Parliament. Reasonable as this might appear, it is certain that the matter was referred to a very partial tribunal; for the Parliament was not less averse to the Commonwealth party, nor less desirous of crushing it than the King and his followers. Acts were, in consequence, passed for the restoration of the estates of the Crown, of the Church, and of such noblemen as had been forfeited for their adherence to the royal cause, without any compensation to the purchasers.

"Thus," says Harris, "were men who had relied on

the faith of the public, and advanced their moneys for the defence of the rights and privileges of the people, in opposition to regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, deprived of their properties for no fault but their incredulity in thinking that the son of a tyrant and his lawless followers would have any regard to right and equity in their treatment of their opponents." By these proceedings, great numbers of families were reduced to the deepest poverty and distress.

At this time, not more than ten members of the bench of Bishops survived. The King, after the dissolution of Parliament, filled up the vacant sees; and at the same time that he issued writs for convening a new Parliament, he sent summonses to the Bishops for the meeting of the clergy in convocation, by which time the liturgy would be finished, and then he intended to send it to that assembly to be examined, discussed, and confirmed.

There can be no doubt that, after the seizure of the property of the Church, many of its high dignitaries had been reduced to great straits. Thus some of the Bishops had been obliged to support themselves and their families "by teaching schools, and submitting to the like low condescensions," says Clarendon, "while others of the clergy declared that, if they died before they could make a provision for their families, these must unavoidably starve. Hence they were in the greater haste to enter upon what they now considered as their own, and to call the holders of their estates to account. This change could not take place without

exciting loud murmurs against the church, more especially from the necessity there was to raise by means of fines for new leases — as most of the old ones had expired during the long continuance of the war—funds for repairing the cathedrals, which "were all miserably ruinated or defaced, and for the entirely building up many houses of the prebends, which had been pulled down, or let fall to the ground."

Parliament having granted to the King a sum for defraying the expenses of his Coronation, the 23rd of April, was the day fixed for the performance of that ceremony: preparatory to which, Charles created six Earls and six Barons. The former were, Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; Brudenell, of Cardigan; Valentia, of Anglesea; Grenville, of Bath; and Howard, of Carlisle; and the Barons Hollis, Cornwallis, Booth, Townsend, Cooper, and Creve. Pepys, who was present on the occasion, records the formalities which took place in the Banquetting House: "each of the Earls," he says, "being led up by heralds and five old Earls to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword, and coronet, and gives him the patent: and then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises, and stands covered before the King. And the same for each Baron, only he is led up by three of the old Barons. And they are girt with swords before they go to the King."

Honest Evelyn makes mention of "the bathing and the rest of the ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, preparatory to the Coronation," which he witnessed in

the Painted Chamber, at Westminster. He adds, that he "might have received that honour, but declined it."

Early in the morning of the 22nd of April, the King proceeded in his coach to the Tower, where most of the nobility were previously assembled. About ten o'clock, the procession, on horseback, arranged by the heralds, set out for Whitehall; those of the long robe, the King's counsel at law, the masters in chancery, and judges, going first; then the Lords, in their order, very splendidly habited, on rich foot cloths, the number of the footmen being limited, to Dukes, ten; to Earls, eight; to Viscounts, six; and to Barons, four, all richly clad as their other servants were. "The whole show," says Clarendon, "was the most glorious in the order and expense that had ever been seen in England." "The King," relates Pepys, "in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse. . . . . The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. So glorious was the show with gold and silver that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome."[1] Such was the length of the cavalcade, that those who rode first were in Fleet Street when the King was leaving the Tower, as was known by the discharge of the ordnance, and it was near three o'clock when he alighted at Guildhall.

Next morning, the King rode in the same state, in

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

his robes and with the crown upon his head and all the Lords in their robes to Westminster Hall, where the insignia for the Coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of Northumberland being made High Constable, and the Earl of Suffolk Earl Marshal for the day. The Lords in their order, and the King himself, then walked on foot, upon blue cloth, from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, where the King, after a sermon preached by Dr. Morley (then Bishop of Worcester), in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, was sworn, crowned, and anointed, by Dr. Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all the solemnities that in those cases had been usual. This done, the King returned in the same manner on foot to Westminster Hall, which was adorned with rich hangings and statues, and there the King dined, and the Lords on the other side, at tables provided for them, and all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence.

That sight-loving Diarist, Pepys, affords us a further peep at this banquet—"A little while before the King had done all his ceremonies [in the Abbey] I went round to Westminster Hall, all the way within rayles, with the ground covered with blue cloth, and scaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another, full of brave ladies. The King came in with his crowne on and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves carried by barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long

time he got to the farther end, and all set themselves down at their several tables. . . . I went from table to table to see the bishops and all others at their dinner. And at the lords' table I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my lord for me, and he did give him four rabbits and a pullet, and so Mr. Creed and I got Mr. Minshell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it as every one else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts; but, above all, the twenty-four violins. About six at night, they had dined. And strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair till now, that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall, and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years, which people did take great notice of. I observed little disorder, only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the barons of the Cinque Ports, which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's hand, till to-morrow, to be decided."[1]

Lord Clarendon remarks that "this ceremony furnished occasion for an incident that was absolutely new, and excited some surprize. It had been usual," he says, "in all state-processions, for the Master of the Horse to the King, who is always a person of high distinction, and at this time was Monk, Duke of Albe-

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

marle, to ride immediately after his Majesty, with a led horse in his hand." At the Coronation, he says, "the Duke of York prevailed with the King, who had not enough reverence for old customs, without any consultation, that his Master of the Horse (so he was called), Mr. Jermyn, a younger brother of a very private gentleman's family, should ride as near to his person as the general did to his Majesty, and lead a horse likewise in his hand—a thing never heard of before." He contends that in fact the younger of the King has of right no such officer, the term being restricted to the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales; and he alleges that this proceeding excited much astonishment and displeasure in the Lords, because it was borrowed from the customs of the Court of France, than which there could not be a copy more universally odious to the English nation.

From the moment of his Restoration, the Court of Charles became the focus of extravagance, profligacy, licentiousness, and every species of debauchery, which, encouraged by the royal example, extended their baneful influence among all classes of his subjects, to a degree unparalleled in this country in any age either before or since. Much of this effect is undoubtedly to be attributed also to the personal character of the profligate woman whom he selected for his principal mistress, and who contrived, by her personal charms, and her violent and imperious temper, to exercise over him the most despotic sway. His intimate connexion with this lady commenced, as we have seen, on the very first

night after his return to London. Her father, who inherited from his uncle, Oliver St. John, the Irish title of Viscount Grandison, was a descendant of the elder branch of the house of Villiers, the younger having become Dukes of Buckingham. Distinguished by his devoted attachment to the royal cause, and by chivalrous bravery in upholding it, he received, at the siege of Bristol, in 1643, a desperate wound, of which he died in a few days at Oxford, whither he was removed, at the early age of thirty; leaving by Mary, third daughter of Viscount Bayning, an only child, Barbara, who was destined to attain, in the sequel, such a degrading exaltation.

It is evident, from the correspondence which passed between her, while single, and the Earl of Chesterfield,[1] that she commenced her career of infamy before marriage. The first of the Earl's letters to her is dated in 1656; and the editor of the work seems fully warranted in the inference that Chesterfield had received the ultimate favours in the power of a female to bestow, before her union to Mr. Palmer, to whom she adverts with marked aversion and contempt. He adds, that "the manuscript from which these papers are collated, furnishes intelligible proof of their voluptuous intimacy, and in terms adapted to the glowing fervour of the subject."

In this volume, we find[2] a joint note from Mrs. Villiers and Lady Anne Hamilton, daughter of the second Duke

[1] Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield. 8vo. 1829.

[2] Chesterfield's Letters, Vol. i. pp. 88-9.

of Hamilton and the Lady Southesk of the Memoirs of Grammont. "My friend and I are just now a-bed together, a-contriving how to have your company this afternoon. If you deserve this favour, you will come and seek us at Ludgate Hill about three o'clock, at Britten's shop, where we will expect you."

It would appear that she was not shy of making assignations with his Lordship. In another of these epistles, she says: "It is ever my ill fortune to be disappointed of what I most desire; for this afternoon I did promise myself the satisfaction of your company; but I fear I am disappointed, which I assure you is no small affliction to me; but I hope the faits [fates] may yet be so kind as to let me see you about five o'clock. If you will be at your private lodgings in Lincoln's Inn Fields, I will endeavour to come." [1]

Again: still in 1657. "The joy I had of being with you the last night, has made me do nothing but dream of you, and my life is never pleasant to me but when I am with you, or talking of you; yet the discourses of the world must make me a little more circumspect: therefore, I desire you not to come to-morrow. . . . I will not fail to meet you on Saturday morning." [2]

Her marriage in 1659, to Roger Palmer, Esq., a Papist, and heir to an ample fortune, does not appear to have interrupted her intercourse with Chesterfield. "Since I saw you," she says, in one of these love-epistles, "I have been at home, and I find the Mounser,

[1] Chesterfield's Letters, Vol. i. p. 88. [2] Ibid. p. 91.

[Monsieur—her husband, of course,] in a very ill-humour, for he says that he is resolved never to bring me to town again, and that nobody shall see me when I am in the country. I would not have you come to-day, for that would displease him more; but send me word presently what you would advise me to do, for I am ready and willing to go all over the world with you, and will obey your commands that am, whilst I live, yours."[1]

In the same year, when very ill of the small-pox, she writes: "My dear Life, I have been this day extremely ill, and the not hearing from you hath made me much worse than otherwise I should have been. The doctor doth believe me in a desperate condition, and I must confess that the unwillingness I have to leave you, makes me not entertain the thoughts of death so willingly as otherwise I should; for there is nothing besides yourself that could make me desire to live a day; and, if I am never so happy as to see you more, yet the last words I will say, shall be a prayer for your happiness; and so I will live and die, loving you above all things."[2]

It seems probable that the first acquaintance of this voluptuous and profligate woman with the King was formed in 1659, in Holland, whither she accompanied her husband, when he, a steady adherent to the exiled King, carried to him a considerable sum of money, to promote his Restoration; and her intimacy

[1] Chesterfield's Letters, Vol. i. pp. 102-3.
[2] Ibid. p. 103.

with him commenced, as we have seen, immediately after that event. In a few months, her husband was created an Irish peer, by the title of Viscount Castlemaine. "He, meekest of men," says the lively Mrs. Jameson, "was, or affected to be, at first, a little restive and sulky under his new dignities: but means were found to pacify him, and he afterwards submitted to the coronet and other honours which his beautiful wife showered on his head, with a spirit of philosophy and resignation which was quite edifying."[1]

In February 1661, she gave birth to a daughter. "This," says Lord Dartmouth, in his Notes to Burnet's History, "was the late Countess of Sussex, whom the King adopted, though Lord Castlemaine always looked upon her to be his, and left her his estate when he died; but she was generally understood to belong to another, the old Earl of Chesterfield, whom she very much resembled, both in face and person." She was married, in 1674, to Thomas Lennard, Earl of Sussex. Chesterfield seems to have relinquished his intercourse with her out of deference, probably, to his royal rival; for it is not likely that the lady, to judge from her subsequent conduct, would have felt any particular scruples in regard to its continuance.

In fact, it is scarcely possible to imagine a career of more distinguished profligacy than that of this abandoned woman. After the elevation of her husband to the peerage, she became openly the mistress of the King. Regardless of the very appearance of decorum,

[1] Memoirs of the Beauties of Charles II.

she rather sought occasions for exhibiting in public the inherent warmth of her temperament by the wantonness of her demeanour. Pepys, in his lively and amusing Diary, notes that in Whitehall Chapel, October 14, 1660, he "observed how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly, through the hangings that part the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit."

Burnet draws an accurate picture of her in few, but vigorous touches: "She was a woman of great beauty," he says, "but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish but imperious; very uneasy to the King; and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her, and her strange behaviour towards him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of minding business."

From the moment of his Restoration, the King had been advised by his friends to select a fitting consort,[1] and, according to Carte, the Queen, his mother, was mainly instrumental in bringing about his alliance with the Infanta of Portugal, who was in her twenty-third year, when the negociations for this purpose first commenced. One day, the Portuguese Ambassador, Don Francisco de Mello, in a conversation with Charles's Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Manchester, after extolling his royal master, observed, "that it was time he should bestow himself in marriage, and that nothing could keep him single but the difficulty of

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond.

finding a suitable consort for him." He then proceeded to say that, "there was in Portugal a Princess in her beauty, person, and age very fit for him, and who would have a portion suitable to her birth and quality. She was indeed a Catholic, and would never depart from her religion." The Ambassador concluded by saying that "he had authority to make the proposition to the King, accompanied with such advantages as he thought no other power in Europe could offer."[1]

The Earl of Manchester duly reported this conversation to the King, who merely replied that "he would think of it." The following day, the Ambassador went to his Majesty, and repeated to him all he had said to his Lord-Chamberlain, adding, that "he was authorized to offer £500,000 sterling, in ready money, as a portion for the Infanta, and likewise to assign over and annex to the Crown of England for ever, the possession of Tangier, upon the African shore, in the Mediterranean Sea, a place of that strength and importance, as would be of infinite benefit and security to the trade of England, likewise to grant to the English nation a free trade to Brazil and the East Indies, which they had hitherto denied to all nations but themselves; and also promised to put into his Majesty's hands the island of Bombay, with its spacious bay, towns, and castles, which possessions, he said, might be valued far above the portion in money."[2]

To the profuse and needy Charles the offer of half a million of money, placed at his sole disposal, was a

[1] Life of Clarendon. [2] Ibid.

tempting consideration; the religion of the Infanta was no objection to *him*, and he hoped that the advantageous conditions annexed to the treaty would render it palatable to his people.

Catharine was the only daughter of the celebrated Duke of Braganza, who, by one of the most bloodless and most patriotic revolutions ever recorded, was placed upon the throne of Portugal, with the title of Don Juan IV., in 1641. Her mother, Louisa de Guzman, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was a woman of great beauty and spirit. On the death of her husband, in 1656, she was left regent of the kingdom; and, during the minority of her weak and worthless son, she maintained the national independence against Spain with equal ability and success. Catherine, her eldest child, born just before the attainment of the royal dignity by her father, was brought up according to the custom of her age and country, within the strict bounds of a convent: her society was confined to her confessor, and a few simple-minded, fanatic nuns; her reading to her Breviary and the Lives of the Saints. Such was the education, and such the society from which she was called, at the age of twenty-three, to share the throne of England, and to rule the most licentious Court in Europe;—a Court in which her ignorance and innocence rendered her ridiculous, her religious bigotry contemptible, and her high spirit and unworn affections only made her feel more acutely the mortification to which she was hourly exposed, both as a Queen and as a woman.

It is impossible to suppress a smile at the geographical attainments of Lord Clarendon, who, though occupying the post of Chancellor, was, in fact, the King's Prime Minister, and had been engaged during a great part of his life in political and diplomatic affairs. In enumerating the advantages offered by the Ambassador of Portugal with a Princess, as a consort for Charles, he says that it was proposed "to grant to the English nation a free trade in Brazil, in the East Indies." The good-natured reader may be disposed to impute this, as I did myself, to a slip of the pen; but, proceeding a few lines further, I find that the Court of Portugal offered also to cede "and for ever annex to the crown of England, the island of Bombay, with the towns and castles therein, which are within a very little distance from Brazil!"

Be it remarked, moreover, that the work in which this passage is found, "The History of the Reign of King Charles II. from the Restoration to the end of the year 1667, by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England,"[1] was not printed till many years after the death of the author, but in what year the editor did not think fit to intimate, though it was certainly subsequently to the reign of Queen Anne. He informs us that the manuscript was deposited in the hands of Francis Gwyn, Esq., late Secretary of War to Queen Anne, by the last Earl of Clarendon, (who died in 1709,) from which copy it is faithfully printed by his son, who assures the public

[1] Vol. i. p. 173.

that every word of the manuscript is most religiously followed. This gentleman, it is to be presumed, was as little aware of the geographical blunder noticed above, as the noble author himself, or he would, at least, have corrected it by means of a note, if the mistaken duty of a conscientious adherence to the text forbade any alteration in that.

When the Chancellor was informed by the King of the overture of Portugal, he could not forbear asking if his Majesty had given up all thoughts of a Protestant wife? He replied that he could not find such a one, except among his own subjects, and among them he had seen none to please him enough for that purpose. Observing the Chancellor to look fixedly upon him, he added that he would never think more of the daughter of the Princess of Orange, her mother having used him so ill when he proposed himself; and, if he should now think of it, he knew that his mother would never consent to it, and that it would break his sister's heart.

By Clarendon's advice, the affair was submitted to a few trusty members of the Privy Council by the King himself, who met them at the house of the Chancellor, and when some of them, like the latter, expressed a wish for a Protestant Queen, and named the daughter of Henry, Prince of Orange, of whom they had heard some mention, when his Majesty was beyond the seas, and of whose elder sister (then married to the Elector of Brandenburg) there had been some discourse in the life of the late King, his Majesty quickly

declared that he had very unanswerable reasons why he could not entertain that alliance." Charles, guided by his mother, had early resolved not to marry a Protestant; and, in the course of the debate, asked petulantly "where was there a Protestant for him to marry?" Several of the German Princesses were mentioned. "Odds-fish!" exclaimed the King, impatiently, "they are all dull and foggy; I cannot like any one of them for a wife."[1] The Lords readily agreed that there was no Catholic Princess in Europe who was a more eligible match for the King than the Infanta of Portugal.

In the council, Clarendon, whose influence was then at its height, strenuously supported the measure, partly from a conviction of its political advantage, partly to prevent the suspicion that he had encouraged the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of York, in the hope that her offspring would succeed to the crown. Perhaps, also, he thought to make the young Queen his friend, in opposition to the mistresses and profligate courtiers, whom his natural timidity of disposition made him fear; but whom the inborn integrity of his character would not allow him to court.

Lord Clarendon justly complains of the ready access allowed at this time at Court, where no rules nor formalities were yet established (and to which the King himself was not enough inclined), but left all doors open to all persons; which the [Spanish] ambassador, finding he made himself a domestic, came to the King at all hours, and spoke to him when and as long as he

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond.

would, without any ceremony, or desiring an audience according to the old custom; but came into the chamber whilst the King was dressing himself, and mingled with all discourses with the same freedom he could use in his own. And from this never-heard-of licence, introduced by the French and the Spaniards at this time, without any dislike from the King, though not permitted in any other Court in Christendom, many inconveniences and mischiefs broke in, which could never after be shut out.

The Spanish ambassador here alluded to, the Baron de Breteville, on obtaining intelligence of the treaty of marriage negociating with Portugal, availed himself of the freedom of access to the King, to prejudice him against the alliance. He represented that an overwhelming force would soon be directed by his master against Portugal, and that the house of Braganza, which had recently regained possession of its dominions, usurped by Spain, must be infallibly compelled to seek refuge in some of its distant colonies. He declared that the Infanta was deformed, and subject to many diseases, and that it was notorious, both in Portugal and Spain, that she was incapable of bearing children. The Earl of Bristol, who during the rule of Cromwell had resided at Madrid, where he turned Catholic in the prospect of worldly advantage, and who was devoted to the Spanish interest, repeated the same story as the ambassador, adding that there were many beautiful ladies in Italy, out of whom the King might have his choice, and with her a portion as if she were a daughter of

Spain.' These representations, confirmed by the ambassador, had such an effect on the fickle Charles that he wished for an excuse to break off his treaty with Portugal, and actually commissioned the Earl of Bristol to travel to Italy, that he might see some of the Princesses there, to whom allusion had been made.

No sooner had he set out on this errand, than the Portuguese ambassador, who had left England, and proceeded to Lisbon, to acquaint his Court with the King's acceptance of its overtures, carrying with him a letter written by the King's own hand to the Infanta, in which he addressed her as his wife, returned to London with a new title, indicating approbation of his conduct and services. The Spanish ambassador was furious. In a memorial which he delivered to the King, he declared that he had orders from his master to intimate that, if his Majesty should proceed towards a marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Braganza, his master's rebel, the King of Spain would forthwith recall his ambassador, and declare war against him. Indignant at this threat, Charles told him that he might be gone as soon as he pleased, for he would not receive orders from the Catholic King how to dispose of himself in marriage.

"The ambassador, from what he collected," says Lord Clarendon, "from his Majesty's sharp replies to his insolent expressions, took upon him to do an act of the highest extravagance that hath been done in Europe by the minister of any state in this age. He caused to be printed, in English, the copies of the ma-

morials which he had presented to the King, and of the discourses he had made against the match with Portugal, with the offers the King of Spain had made to prevent so great a mischief to the kingdom, and other seditious papers to the same purpose, and caused those papers to be spread abroad; some whereof were cast out of his own windows amongst the soldiers, as they passed to and from the guard. Upon which unheard-of misdemeanour, the King was so incensed that he sent the Secretary of State to require him forthwith to depart the kingdom, without seeing his Majesty's face, which he would not admit him to do; and to let him know that he would send a complaint of his misbehaviour to the King, his master, from whom he would expect that justice should be done upon him."

This message so disconcerted the insolent diplomatist, that he desired, even with tears, to be admitted to the King's presence to beg his pardon; but that being denied, he left the kingdom in a few days, "carrying with him the character of a very bold, rash man."

It was at this early period, after Charles's return, that the French Court, speculating upon his necessities, and those of his principal servants, commenced its attempts to render both dependant on its bounty. Cardinal Mazarine, whose plans were so utterly disconcerted by the King's unexpected Restoration, that he was never afterwards "observed to be merry, and to enjoy his natural pleasant humour," was now dead, and Monsieur Fouquet, a man of extraordinary energy and abilities, was placed at the head of the French finances,

which virtually gave him the power of Prime Minister. He selected La Bastide, who had been secretary of embassy in England, as the bearer of letters to the Earl of Clarendon and the King; the object of which was to encourage Charles to consummate the treaty of alliance commenced with Portugal, and to exhort him to undertake the protection of that crown against the pretensions of Spain, at the same time offering 300,000 pistoles to defray the expense of the first campaign, and promising a supply proportionate to the charge for the future; because Louis XIV., in consequence of his marriage with a Spanish Princess, was obliged to abstain from any interference that might give umbrage to his Catholic Majesty. It was also proposed that, as there were ambassadors in France and England from the United Provinces, for the purpose of renewing their alliances, both countries should unite to curb the proud and haughty bearing of those Republicans.

The second part of La Bastide's umbrage was, that those people [the Dutch] were grown too insolent towards all their neighbours, and treated kings as if they were their equals; that France had been ill-used by them, and was sensible of it, and that the King of England had experienced very little of their civility, that his Christian Majesty therefore proposed that both Kings should act in such concert as to reduce that people to behave with good manners, and promise not to conclude any treaty without communicating it to the other. Charles signified personally to La Bastide his willingness to enter into both the proposed engagements,

not suspecting that they would be so ill observed on the part of France.

Next day, the messenger again called upon the Chancellor, and, after a long preamble, informed him that Monsieur Fouquet had sent the sum of £10,000 sterling for his acceptance, as an earnest of a like yearly provision. The Chancellor desired La Bastide to tell his employer that he would not receive wages from any one but his own master. The Frenchman, wholly unprepared for a refusal, affected not to understand him, and continued to urge the matter, till Lord Clarendon left the room in anger. The same day, the King and the Duke of York came to his house; and when he informed them, with much choler, what had passed in the morning, they both laughed at him, saying that the French did all their business that way, and the King told him he was a fool, implying that he should take the money. The Chancellor represented the mischievous consequences which must result from such proceedings, either with or without the privity of his Majesty. The King, smiling, replied that few men were so scrupulous, and desired him to send a civil answer to Fouquet's letter, and so cultivate the correspondence, which might be useful, and could not produce inconvenience.

The King's wavering resolution was at length fixed by the sight of a miniature of the Infanta, which the Portuguese ambassador had brought back with him. It represented a young person, not indeed strictly or regularly beautiful, but whose delicate features, soft

expression, clear olive complexion, and fine dark eyes, were at least attractive. The King, gazing on it with complacency, declared *that* person could not be unhandsome; and, with little more deliberation, the famous treaty was concluded which has bound England and Portugal in strict alliance ever since.[1]

Having learned that the Court of Portugal was ready to fulfil all its engagements in regard to the marriage, Charles thought fit to submit the matter to a general meeting of his Privy Council. One member only was absent on the occasion. It was the unanimous opinion and advice of the Council that the treaty should be concluded without delay. Accordingly, at the meeting of Parliament on the 8th of May, the King, in his speech to both Houses, communicated to them his intentions in terms which, as reported, and no doubt faithfully, by Lord Clarendon, by their simplicity, familiarity, and heartiness, sufficiently indicate the address to have been extemporaneous.

He said that he could not conclude without telling them some news, news that he thought would be very acceptable to them; and, therefore, he should think himself unkind and ill-natured if he should not impart it to them. He had been often put in mind by his friends that it was high time to marry; and he had thought so himself ever since he came into England; but there appeared difficulties enough in the choice, though many overtures had been made to him; but, if he should never marry till he could make such a choice

[1] Clarendon's Autobiography.

against which there could be no foresight of any inconvenience that might ensue, they would live to see him an old bachelor, which he thought they did not desire to do. He would now tell them not only that he was resolved to marry, but whom he resolved to marry, if it pleased God—it was to a daughter of Portugal.

When he had, as well as he could, weighed all that occurred to himself, the first resolution he took was to state the whole overtures which had been made to him; and, in truth, all that had been said against it to the Privy Council, without hearing whose advice he never did, nor ever would, resolve anything of public importance, and he said he told them with great satisfaction and comfort to himself that, after many hours' debate in full council, for he thought there was not above one absent, and he believed, upon weighing all that could be said upon that subject for or against it, the Lords, without one dissenting voice, advised him with all imaginable cheerfulness to this marriage, which he looked upon as very wonderful, and even as some instance of the approbation of God himself.[1] He had thereupon taken his own resolution, and concluded with

[1] Heaven, no doubt, must have approved of a treaty begun in avarice, carried on with falsehood, interrupted by levity and intrigue, renewed by corruption, and concluded with perfidy. A little cant may be allowed in such men as Charles I. and Cromwell, who, at least, kept up the show of religion, and both of whom had probably a strong tincture of enthusiasm. But frequent boasts of the Divine blessing, in the mouth of such a notoriously debauched, unprincipled, impious profligate as Charles II., cannot but excite the strongest indignation.

the ambassador of Portugal, who was departing with the whole treaty signed, which they would find to contain many great advantages to the kingdom, and that he would make all the haste he could to fetch them a Queen hither, who, he doubted not, would bring great blessings with her to him and them."[1]

Both Houses in a body presented, by the Speaker of the Peers, their humble thanks to his Majesty for having vouchsafed to acquaint them with his resolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their hearts, and would, they doubted not, draw God's blessing on his Majesty and the kingdom. Soon afterwards, a fleet was made ready. The Earl of Sandwich was appointed to command it, and also to be ambassador to Portugal to receive the Princess and conduct her to England.

The fleet accordingly proceeded to Tangier, when the Earl of Sandwich was put in possession of that place, where he left an English garrison under the command of the Earl of Peterborough. He then proceeded to Lisbon, where he was to appear in the character of ambassador-extraordinary, to demand the Princess and to bring her to England, together with her portion. He was disappointed to learn that the necessities of the Queen-Regent had compelled her to appropriate part of the money to the defence of the kingdom against the Spaniards, so that, at this time, she could pay only half the portion, and promised that the other half should be infallibly paid within a year.

[1] Journals of the Lords. Clarendon's Autobiography.

The Earl of Sandwich was greatly perplexed how to act, as he had been instructed to receive the whole sum. Tangier, too, had been delivered into his hands, and he had no authority to restore that place. It was found, moreover, that the half which the Court of Portugal proposed to pay did not consist entirely of money, but was to be made up by jewels, sugar, and other commodities. The ambassador, therefore, was obliged to give his receipt for the several species of money which the Queen Regent intended to deliver, leaving the value to be computed in England, but expressly refused to accept the jewels, sugar, and merchandize at any prices. He consented, however, to receive them on board, for the purpose of being delivered in London to any person to whom the Court of Portugal might assign them, and who should be required to pay the amount at which they were estimated, so as to make up the full sum to be paid to the King for the first moiety. Accordingly, Diego Silvas, a very wealthy Jew of Amsterdam, was sent with the Earl to settle the matter with the King's ministers in London; and a new obligation was entered into by the Crown of Portugal for the payment of the other moiety within the space of a year.

Another circumstance was more important in its effects. Though Catharine assumed state and held a Court as Queen of England, she embarked without the performance of any rites of marriage, or the ceremonies usual among crowned heads on such occasions. The cause of this unparalleled proceeding was as follows —the power of Spain at the Court of Rome was so pre-

dominant, that the title of the Braganza family to the throne of Portugal had not been acknowledged by it. Without a dispensation from the Pope, the Infanta could not be married to a heretic in her own country; and the Papal dispensation, if granted at all, would have styled her simply daughter, or sister, of the Duke of Braganza. Rather than submit to this apprehended indignity, her proud and jealous relatives chose to trust unreservedly to the honour of England.[1]

On her arrival at Portsmouth, on the 14th of May, Catharine, though suffering severely from the effects of her voyage, continued on board till the 20th from a point of etiquette, which did not allow her to land till she should be joined by the King, who, on the evening before he left London, had supped at the house of his imperious mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine. The marriage-ceremony was performed according to the Romish rite by the Lord Aubigny, brother of the Duke of Richmond, and almoner to the Queen, in the presence of the Portuguese ambassador and two or three of her women. They were afterwards married, according to the ceremony of the Protestant church, by Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London: but on this occasion Catharine, as simple-minded as she was bigoted, refused to repeat the words of the ritual, turned away her head poutingly, and would not even look the Bishop in the face. She insisted, however, on his solemnly pro-

[1] In the Stuart Papers, it is said that Catharine "would not be married by a Protestant proxy." Was she in the secret that Charles was a Catholic?

nouncing her the wife of the King before he quitted her chamber.

This hasty and imperfect marriage was subsequently the occasion of much scandal, and tended to embitter the after-life of Catharine. Many affected to regard it as a mere contract not binding upon the King, and even to found on it additional reasons for the divorce which in 1669 was seriously agitated.

The King, with his bride, left Portsmouth on the 27th, passed one night at Windsor, and proceeded to Hampton Court, where he arrived on his birthday, the 29th of May.

CHAPTER VII.

Domestic life of the King.—Attendants upon the Queen.—Her fashion of dress.—Charles presents Lady Castlemaine to his wife.—A scene at Court.—The King determines to make his favourite, lady of the bed-chamber to Queen Catharine.—Witty companions of the monarch.—he communicates his vexations to the Chancellor.—Arguments of the latter.—Story told by the King relative to the Earl of Bristol.—Infatuation of Charles for Lady Castlemaine.—His letter to the Chancellor.—Clarendon's interview with the Queen.—Violent quarrel between the royal pair.—Charles neglects his wife.—His resentment.—He dismisses her Portuguese attendants.—The Chancellor retires from the contest.—How to crush the female heart.—Catharine at length reconciled to receive her imperious rival.—Restless spirit of the Republican party.—Conspiracy for assassinating the King.—Ridge interrogated by his Majesty.—Confession and pardon of the prisoner.—Grand ball and festivities at Whitehall.—Sale of Dunkirk to the French.

FOR some time after his marriage, Charles appeared to be well satisfied with his Queen, though it was easy to foresee that, with his dissolute habits and loose principles in regard to the sex, it was scarcely possible for the union to prove

harmonious. It was likewise to the interest of some of those about him, to prevent the Queen from gaining any influence over him, because it might lessen their own, and to alienate Charles's affections from her, by all the means in their power. Ever since his return to England, the King had been living in notorious familiarity with a lady possessing youth and beauty, who, about the time of the Queen's arrival, or a little before, had been delivered of a son, whom the King owned. Though this amour had lowered him in the estimation of the people, yet they made allowance for his being then in the full strength and vigour of youth, and presumed that, when married, he would at least restrain himself within the bounds of decorum.

The Queen had qualities of person and mind to render herself agreeable to him; nay, she might, no doubt, have gradually acquired the ascendancy which former Queens had enjoyed, if she had possessed their craft, address, and dexterity. Though old enough to have had more experience of the world, she had been brought up, according to the custom of her country, in a convent, where she had no other society than that of the religious who resided there, and the women who waited upon her; and, from this state of restraint, she was summoned to be placed at the head of a Court which was to be new formed on the occasion, and to be reduced from the manners of a licentious age to the old rules and restraints which had been observed in better times.

When Catharine first arrived in England, she was

dressed after the antiquated fashion of Portugal, in a high boddice, ruff, and farthingale, which excited some insolent merriment in her new Court. She brought with her from Lisbon a bevy of Portuguese attendants, of whom the author of Grammont's Memoirs has left a ludicrous description: "Six monsters," alias maids of honour, ruffed and farthingaled like their mistress, surrounded her person, and were governed by an old duenna more hideous than all her damsels, as stiff as pride and buckram could make her. Besides these, Catharine had in her retinue six almoners, a confessor, a Jewish perfumer, and an officer, whose function seems to have puzzled the whole Court, called "the Queen's barber." These foreigners, by their ignorance, bigotry, and officiousness, caused as much confusion as did the French attendants on her predecessor, Henrietta-Maria.

This numerous household was composed of persons of both sexes, the most improper for promoting that conformity in their mistress, which was necessary for her future happiness, that could have been chosen. The women were mostly old, plain, proud, and incapable of conversing with persons of liberal education. They strove to instil into her a notion that it was incompatible with the dignity of Portugal to learn the English language, or to relinquish the manners and fashions of her own country, and that, in this case, the ladies of England would soon be induced to adopt her Majesty's practice.

So strongly was she prepossessed with this idea, that

she would not admit into her presence, or employ a tailor who had been sent to Portugal to make her clothes; and, when she arrived at Portsmouth, and there found several ladies of honour and high quality ready to assume the functions about her person, assigned to them by the King, she would not receive any of them till he himself came. Neither could she be persuaded to use any articles of dress out of the wardrobe which the King had sent to her, but would wear the clothes which she had brought, until she found that he was displeased, and would be obeyed; whereupon, she complied, contrary to the advice of her women, who obstinately persisted themselves in adhering to the fashions of their own country.

The Queen brought with her to Hampton Court a fixed resolution never to suffer the lady who was so much talked-of to be in her presence; and she afterwards told those whom she thought she could trust, that her mother had enjoined her to pursue this course. In the list of the new attendants laid before Catharine for her approbation, Charles had the effrontery to include his acknowledged mistress, Lady Castlemaine. Catharine instantly drew her pen across the name, and when Charles insisted, she replied with becoming spirit, that "she would return to her own country, rather than be forced to submit to such an indignity." The King, however, in pursuance of his intention,[1] in a day or two, himself led the lady into his wife's chamber, and presented her to the Queen, who was surrounded by

[1] Clarendon's Autobiography.

many lords and ladies, and received her with the same grace as she had done the rest. She could not have known at the first moment who it was, but the conviction suddenly flashing into her mind, she resumed her seat. Overpowered by the shock, she changed colour, the tears gushed from her eyes, and blood from her nose, and she fainted. She was removed forthwith into another room, and all the company retired from that where she was before. The King was highly indignant at this circumstance, occurring as it did in the presence of so many persons; and he regarded it as an earnest of a determination to struggle for the supremacy, a point upon which he was most jealous and most resolute. Still more was he displeased with the answer which he received from Catharine, who pertinaciously adhered to her purpose.

Charles now began to neglect the Queen, and to seek ease and recreation in the evenings in that company to which he daily became more indulgent, and some of the members of which were more desirous to inflame than to pacify his discontent. They devised an expedient to make it appear to the world that he would not be governed. They extolled the temper and constitution of his maternal grandfather, Henry IV. of France, who never suffered his passion to be matter of reproach to the persons of whom he became enamoured, but forced all others to pay them that respect of which he deemed them worthy, brought them to Court, and obliged his own wife to treat them with grace and favour, conferred on them the highest titles of honour,

and raised the children they bore him to the quality of princes of the blood. This example was contrasted with the conduct of Charles, who had not the gratitude or generosity to make a suitable return to one who had, for his sake, provoked the rage and jealousy of her husband to such a degree that he had separated himself from her, and who was, now that the Queen's indignation had made the matter so notorious, to be made an object of infamy and contempt to her sex, and to all the world.

These representations, reinforced by a small work just printed in Paris, detailing the amours of Henry IV., which was put into the hands of the King, made such an impression upon his mind that he resolved to raise the quality of the lady, by conferring an earldom on her husband, "who," says Lord Clarendon, "knew too well the consideration that was paid for it, and abhorring the brand of such a nobility, would not, for a long time, assume the title. He also resolved," continues the same writer, "for the vindication of her honour and innocence, that she should be admitted of the bedchamber to the Queen, as the only means to convince the world that all aspersions upon her had been without ground. The King used all the ways he could, by treating the Queen with all caresses, to dispose her to gratify him in this particular matter, in which his honour was concerned and engaged, and protested unto her, which at that time he intended to observe, that he had not had the least familiarity with her since her Majesty's arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of

it again, but would live always with her Majesty in all fidelity for conscience sake."

These protestations were very like insult added to injury: what wonder, then, that the Queen broke out into a torrent of rage, which increased the former prejudice, confirmed the King in the resolution he had taken, increased his aversion for her company, and his delight in those who soon gained such influence over him that he could not love his wife, or his business, or any thing, but their conversation?

These domestic broils were a source of deep chagrin to the real friends of the King, and afforded people in general occasion to speak loudly, and with a freedom which the magistrates knew not how to punish; while the wisest men despaired of finding remedies for the dissoluteness and debauchery of the time, which, encouraged by royal example, visibly increased. No one appeared likely to suffer more from the disharmony between Charles and the Queen than the Chancellor; for, though none of the witty companions of the monarch owed Clarendon any particular malice, yet they were all sensible that if the Queen, who had a good opinion of him, acquired any power, his influence upon the King's actions and counsels might be too much augmented. The favourite, indeed, had good reason to dislike him, for it was notorious that he was an enemy to the influence which she had over the King, and which he had done all in his power to destroy; but neither she nor any of the others ventured to speak ill of him to Charles, though, for the sake of a joke, they

would occasionally jest on something that he had said, or imitate some of his gestures, or manner of speaking—the skill in mimicry being the only species of wit that many of them possessed—and, as they often practised this licence towards the King himself, his Majesty thought it to be the more free from malice. By these liberties, which at first only raised laughter, they were gradually emboldened to censure both the persons, counsels, and actions of those who were most in the King's confidence, with the greatest acrimony and presumption, and too often suspended, or thwarted, resolutions taken upon very mature deliberation; but this presumption had not yet attained that height.

To none did the King communicate his vexations with such freedom as to the Chancellor. He complained to him of the Queen's perverseness and ill humours, informed him of all that passed between them, and desired him to speak to her. He relates that he had never heard before of the honour which the King had conferred on Lady Castlemaine, nor of his determination to appoint her of the Queen's bedchamber. He says that he spoke on both points with great boldness, conceiving that the grant of a peerage had not proceeded beyond revocation, because it had not yet come to the great seal; but, in regard to the other point, he condemned the hard-heartedness and cruelty of laying such a command upon the Queen, which flesh and blood could not comply with.

He reminded Charles of what he himself had said concerning a similar proceeding of a neighbouring

King, who had insisted that his mistress should live at Court and in the presence of the Queen, when his Majesty had remarked that it was such a piece of ill nature as he never could be guilty of; and, if ever he should be guilty of having a mistress after he had a wife, which he hoped he never should, he would never add that to her vexations, which would be great enough without it. Such connexions, he told them, were not new at that Court, nor scandalous in that kingdom; whereas, in this, they were so unheard-of and so odious, that a woman who prostituted herself to the King, was as infamous in the eyes of all women of honour, and must expect the same contempt from them as if she were common to mankind; adding, that his worst enemy could not recommend to him a surer way of losing the affections of his people.

The King listened with patience, yet not without some interruptions, especially in that part where the Chancellor had levelled the mistresses of kings and princes with other lewd women; at which he expressed some indignation, being an argument often debated before by him, who would have them looked upon above other wives. He then mentioned a circumstance which had happened the preceding day; he said that the lady—whom Clarendon never mentions by any other designation—had told him that she hoped the Chancellor was not so much her enemy as he was reported to be; that, to her knowledge, he was not guilty of one discourtesy to her which had been laid to his charge, and, therefore, he might be just as innocent of others.

The circumstance was this: the Earl of Bristol, who was never without some reason for engaging in such intrigues, came to her, and inquired whether the patent was not yet passed; and, when she answered no, he asked if she knew the reason? As she affected ignorance, he told her that he had come to inform her, in confidence, that when the patent, prepared for the seal, had been carried to the Chancellor, he had superciliously said it should not pass till he had spoken to the King about it; and, if she did not make his Majesty very sensible of this, his insolence, the King would never be the judge of his own bounty. The lady had then laughed, and made some severe reflections on the principles of the Earl of Bristol, who had the rare good fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the same persons in the space of a month; and took the warrant out of her pocket, where she said it had remained ever since it was signed, so that she believed the Chancellor had never heard of it: she was sure that no patent was prepared: and, therefore, he could not stop it at the seal. The truth was that, though she had assumed the title as soon as she had the warrant, she was in no haste to pass the patent, lest it might be stopped by her husband; and, after long deliberation, not being so confident of the Chancellor as to transmit it to the seal which was in his keeping, and the honour being Irish, she sent it to Dublin to pass the seal there, where she was sure it could not meet with interruption.

When the King had related this story, and added

some severe remarks on the Earl of Bristol, he reverted to the lady. He confessed that he had ruined her reputation, which had been untainted till her acquaintance with him, and said that he was obliged, in conscience and honour, to make her all the reparation in his power; that he should always have a great friendship for her, as well for the memory of her father as for her own sake; and should look upon it as the highest disrespect to him, if any one should treat her otherwise than was due to her birth and the dignity to which he had raised her; that he liked her company and conversation, from which he would not be restrained, because he knew there was, and should be, all innocence in it; and that his wife should never have cause to complain that he broke his vows to her, if she would conduct herself towards him as a good wife ought to do, and make herself agreeable to him, which it was in her power to do: but, if she would continue uneasy to him, he could not answer for it that he should not endeavour to seek content in other company. He added that he had gone too far in the business of the lady to recede without making himself ridiculous to the world, and causing it to be thought that he was in pupillage under a governor. He should, therefore, exact from his wife a conformity on this point to his will, and it would be the only hard thing he would ever require from her. He would promise that the lady should behave with all duty and humility to her Majesty; for, if she did not, she should never see his face again; and he would never place any other servant about her with-

out first consulting her and obtaining her consent. He concluded with repeating the assurance that he would never recede from the resolution which he had taken; and, therefore, he required the Chancellor to use all those arguments with the Queen which were most likely to induce her to a full compliance with his desire.

Soon after this interview with the Chancellor, whom he knew secretly reprobated his conduct, Charles addressed to him the following significant letter, which shows a determination of purpose that precluded any further appeal on the subject:—

"Hamton Court, Thursday morning.

"I forgot, when you were here last, to desire you to give Brodericke good counsel not to meddle any more with what concerns my Lady Castlemaine, and to let him have a care how he is the author of any scandalous reports; for, if I find him guilty, I will make him repent of it to the last moment of his life; and, now I am entered on this matter, I think it very necessary to give you a little good counsel in it, lest you may think, by making a further stir in the business, you may divert me from my resolution—which all the world shall never do—and I wish I may be unhappy in this world, and in the world to come, if I fail in the least degree of what I have resolved, which is—of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wife's bed chamber; and whosoever I find use any endeavours to hinder this resolution of mine (except it be only to myself) I will be his enemy

to the last moment of his life. You know how true a friend I have been to you; if you will oblige me eternally, make this business as easy to me as you can, of what opinion soever you are of, for I am resolved to go through with this matter, let what will come on it, which again I solemnly swear before Almighty God; therefore, if you desire to have the continuance of my friendship, meddle no more with this business, except it be to bear down all false and scandalous reports, and to facilitate what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in; and whosoever I find to be my Lady Castlemaine's enemy in this matter, I do promise upon my word to be his enemy as long as I live. You may show this letter to my Lord-Lieutenant; and, if you have both a mind to oblige me, carry yourselves to me as friends in this matter.

"CHARLES R."[1]

Clarendon obeyed the King's behest, but in such a manner as proved either that he was too much of a courtier to doubt the sincerity of Charles's protestations respecting the innocence of his friendship for Lady Castlemaine, or guilty of wilful deception towards the Queen. He told her, he says, that whatever correspondence the King had entertained with other ladies before he saw her Majesty concerned not her, nor ought she to inquire more into them than into what other exercises he had used in his youth in France, Holland, or Germany; that he had authority to assure her that

[1] Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 121.

all former appetites were expired, and that he dedicated himself entirely and without reserve to her; and that, if she met his affection with that warmth, spirit, and good humour which she well knew how to express, she would live a life of the greatest delight imaginable.[1]

When, however, he proceeded to the real purport of his errand, the appointment of the King's mistress to be a lady of her bedchamber, the Queen gave free scope to her indignation. She declared that the pertinacity of the King on that point could not proceed from any other ground but his hatred of her person, and a determination to expose her to the contempt of the world, which would think her worthy of such an affront, if she submitted to it. Rather than do that, she would put herself on board any little vessel, and return to Lisbon.

The Chancellor acquainted Charles with what had passed, repeated the professions which the Queen had made of duty and obedience to him, and advised him not to press the matter for a day or two, till he had waited upon her again. But the King soon met with other counsellors, who told him that the contention now was who should govern; and, if he suffered himself to be disputed with, he must hereafter expect all his commands to be called in question; and this suggestion was, says Clarendon, "embraced greedily and resolutely. The fire flamed that night higher than ever: the King reproached the Queen with stubbornness and want of duty, and she him with tyranny and want of affection.

[1] Clarendon's Autobiography.

He used threats, which he never intended to put in execution, and she talked loudly how ill she was treated, and that she would return to Portugal. He replied that she would do well first to know whether her mother would receive her, and he would give her a fit opportunity to learn that, by sending to their home all her Portuguese servants, and that he would forthwith give orders for the discharge of them all, since they behaved themselves so ill; for to them, and their counsels, he imputed all her perverseness.

"The passion and the noise of the night reached too many ears to be a secret the next day, and the whole Court was full of that which ought not to have been known to anybody. The mutual behaviour of their Majesties confirmed all that they had heard and could imagine. They spoke not, and scarcely looked at each other. Every one was glad that they were so far from town, for they were still at Hampton Court, and that there were so few witnesses of what had passed. The Queen sat melancholy in her chamber, in tears, unless when she drove them away by a more violent passion in angry discourse; and the King sought amusement in that society which said and did all things to please him. There he spent all the nights, and in the morning came to the Queen's chamber, for he never slept in another place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave, for the Court was far from being of one mind; with this difference that the young and frolick people of either sex talked loudly all that they thought the King would like, while the other more

grave and serious people did in their souls pity the Queen, and thought that she was put to bear more than her strength could sustain."[1]

By the King's command, the Chancellor made a second attempt to persuade the Queen to comply with his hard injunction; but, after a long conversation, she positively declared that, let the King do what he would, she never would consent to his desire.

The King now came seldom into the Queen's company; and, when he did, he spoke not to her, but spent his time in other amusements, and in the society of those who made it their business to laugh at all the world, "and who," says Clarendon "were as bold with God Almighty, as with any of his creatures. He persevered in all his resolutions without any remorse, directed a day for all the Portuguese to be embarked, without assigning any considerable thing of bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to write any letter to the King or Queen of Portugal, respecting the cause of their dismissal."

The Queen was the more chagrined at this treatment, since she had not received any money to enable her to be liberal to those who had attended her from her own country, in the hope of being appointed to places of emolument in her household. She earnestly desired the King to permit her to retain some few, who were of the most use to her, that she might not be wholly left in the hands of strangers. Hereupon, the Countess of Penalva, who had been brought up with her from

[1] Clarendon's Autobiography.

childhood, and owing to indisposition rarely stirred out of her chamber, was allowed to remain at Court, with some few inferior servants in her kitchen and in the lowest offices, besides those who were necessary for her devotions; all the rest were shipped for Portugal.

At the same time, the officers of the revenue were ordered to use all strictness in the receipt of that part of the portion which had been brought over in the fleet; and Diego de Sylva, who had undertaken the troublesome office of seeing the money paid in London, was committed to prison, for not making sufficient haste in that part of the business. The Queen felt this proceeding as an affront offered to herself, and the Portuguese ambassador, who was a most worthy man, took the situation into which he had been the means of bringing the Queen so deeply to heart, that he fell into a long illness, from which he was not expected to recover. As soon as he was well enough to go abroad again, he left Hampton Court, and retired to his own house in town.

Meanwhile, the King pursued his point. Lady Castlemaine came to the Palace, and was lodged there. She was every day in the Queen's presence, and the King in continual conversation with her, while the Queen sate unnoticed.

The Lord Chancellor at length withdrew himself from a contest in which he had cut such a sorry figure, making it his humble suit to the King that he might be no more consulted or employed in an affair in which he had been so unsuccessful; at the same

time; advising him strongly to desist from an intention at once so cruel and unjust.

But Charles had not studied woman to so little purpose as not to know that there is one method of crushing the female heart which never fails; and, better than the Chancellor, he knew that, possessing his wife's unbounded affection, while he cared not for her, he had the game in his own hands. He no longer insisted, or met violence with violence; but he treated Catharine with a cold and scornful neglect, assuming to others a more than usual gaiety and complacency of manner. She was left out of all the mirth and parties of pleasure going forward. Charles studiously proved to her that his happiness in no respect depended on her, or on her acquiescence in his wishes. The courtiers having their cue from their master, forsook her to crowd round Lady Castlemaine, and she was reduced to a mere cipher in her own Court. Catharine had strong passions, but no real strength and magnanimity of character. After a short struggle, in which her pride, her spirits, her heart, were broken down and subdued by continued mortifications, she yielded, and gained nothing by the concession but the contempt and mistrust of those who had hitherto pitied her ill usage, honoured her firmness, and confided in her principles. Even the King, who had affected throughout more displeasure than he really felt, and could not but respect the cause from which her opposition sprang, now contemned her for her weak submission, and imputed her former resistance to pride and petulance, rather than to affection and female dignity.

In the month of August following her marriage, Catharine was induced to receive Lady Castlemaine as one of the ladies of her bedchamber, and to allow her all the honours and privileges attending that office. It happened on one occasion, that coming into the Queen's closet while Catharine was under the hands of her dresser, "I wonder," said she, insolently, "your Majesty can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing." "Madam," replied the Queen, pointedly, "I have so much reason to use patience, that I can well bear such a trifle."[1] This was a retort becoming a Queen, but Castlemaine was not one to be easily abashed by a repartee.

From this time, we do not hear of any open misunderstanding between the King and Queen. Charles, who was good-humoured and polite, treated his wife with an easy complaisance, which, without satisfying her tenderness, left her nothing to complain of. She even assumed a gaiety of manner which she thought would be agreeable to the King, and encouraged the festivities, the masques, and the banquets in which she knew that he delighted. But this struggle to subdue herself, the continued indifference of her husband, the presence of more than one insolent favourite, who braved her in her own Court; above all, her excessive anxiety to have children, increased by the prevalent belief that she was incapable of producing heirs to the crown, seems to have preyed upon her mind.

The restless party of the Republicans were not long

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

before they fell secretly to work against the new government. It consisted of all denominations of Protestant dissenters, excepting Quakers. Their intentions being betrayed in the course of the year 1662, some of the old officers of Cromwell's army, such as Major Wildman, Bremen, and Creed, with several others, were secured and kept in prison till the fall of Lord Clarendon in 1667. Not disheartened, the party still meditated a simultaneous rising in London, and in the north, about York.

The plan of the conspirators in London was this—that when the King went to see one of the militia-regiments, some of the accomplices should load their muskets with ball, and fire at him, on a volley being given by way of salute. When one of those present at this consultation asked, "What shall we do if we miss him?" one Bradford, a sergeant, answered, "If you miss him with your shot, I will not miss him with my halbert." He did not deny these words when he was taken, and brought in chains to the King, who examined him himself; and they were afterwards proved against him at his trial. Most of this cabal were seized; and, among the rest, one Ridge, a preacher. They were examined by the secretaries, but would confess nothing; whereupon his Majesty sent for Ridge, whom he interrogated himself; none being present but the Duke of York and Lord Lauderdale.

At first, this man would own nothing; but the Duke asking him if he were married, which he said he was, and had a wife and five small children, and then, press-

ing him again, by letting him see that, if he still persisted in his obstinacy and did not confess what he knew, he would certainly be hanged, and leave his wife and children to starve; whereas, if he would be ingenuous, and trust to his Majesty's mercy, he might save his life, and have wherewithal to provide for his family—this so struck him, that he immediately fell on his knees, and asked his Majesty's pardon, confessed the whole design, and served as a witness against the rest of them, who could not have been convicted of treason without him, there being but one witness besides himself; and he became so true a convert that afterwards he was appointed muster-master at sea, and was slain in the four days' fight with the Dutch in 1666.

The last day in December, 1662, terminated with a grand ball at Whitehall Palace. Pepys tells us he went into the room where the dancing was to take place, in which he found a concourse of fine ladies. "By and bye," says he, "comes the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and all the great ones. After seating themselves, all rose again. The King took out the Duchess of York, the Duke the Duchess of Buckingham, the Duke of Monmouth my Lady Castlemaine, other lords, other ladies, and danced the *brantle*.[1] After that, the King led a lady a single *coranto*, and then the lords one after another other ladies; very noble it was, and pleasant to see. Then to country-dances, the King leading the first, which he called for by name, as 'The old Dance of England.' The manner was, when the

[1] Or brawl, a dance then in fashion.

King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queen herself stand up, and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York."

At this ball it is said that Lady Castlemaine appeared decorated with jewels of greater value than those worn by the Queen and the Duchess of York put together, and that all the Christmas presents made by the Peers to the King had been given to her, which Pepys pronounces to be "a most abominable thing."

One of the most memorable events that occurred towards the close of this year was the sale of Dunkirk. It is certain that from the time Charles entered into a secret correspondence with the Court of France, he shewed a condescension and weakness in many points, much more derogatory to his own dignity, and injurious to the nation than the sale of Dunkirk, by which he gave up all the commercial advantages of the treaty that Cromwell had made with that country. He suffered that Court to impose such duties on English goods as amounted almost to a prohibition, by which the French gained a million a-year in the over-balance of trade; he meanly relinquished the national claim to the sovereignty of the seas, and the honour of the flag; and, after having given a spirited check to the intrusion of Dutch and French fishermen on the English coasts, he stooped to the most humiliating submissions, returning the nets which had been seized, and shutting his eyes to a treaty between Louis and the States, in which there was an article of express guarantee of the fisheries to the latter. These, however, were only preludes to a closer and more fatal connexion with the French monarch.

Clarendon asserts that, in regard to the sale of Dunkirk, he acted, in every stage of the business, only in obedience to the King's commands. This is directly contradicted by the French ambassador, d'Estrades, whose letters and negociations have since been published. It is there alleged that the Chancellor proposed it to the King; but that his being liable to a public censure which might endanger even his life, obliged him to conceal his opinion, and to seem to agree with that of others, that he might not appear to be the chief promoter of the treaty. In another letter from d'Estrades to his master, dated October 27th, 1662, he says—"At last, after several delays, and getting over several difficulties, I have signed the treaty of Dunkirk, and send it over to your Majesty by this express. I ought not to omit that the Chancellor was the person of all others, who suffered most during the contest about this affair. The Commissioners laboured to break it off; and it may be said that the reasons alleged were so strong that the King of England and the Duke of York would have been staggered, had he [the Chancellor] not taken great pains to keep them to their first resolutions." Towards the conclusion of his letter, the writer, after giving an account of what he calls "their very honourable manner of treating," adds, "this uncommon procedure fully persuaded me that the King of England very earnestly desires to be in friendship with your Majesty, and knows how useful it may be to him; and that the Chancellor seconds and cherishes this disposition for his own particular interest; and that it is for this reason principally

he is going to have an interview with your Majesty at Dunkirk, to give you stronger assurances of this."

All the members of the Council, excepting the Duke of York, opposed the sale of Dunkirk. The French King, and his ambassador, d'Estrades, affected great coolness in the transaction; while, from his knowledge of Charles's necessities, he reduced him to very low terms in the sale. At the same time, he pursued his point every way, by engaging the Duke of York in his interest, and by presents to the Duchess.[1]

Lord Clarendon being apprehensive, from the seeming coolness of the French King, and the low offers made by them, that they did not set a just value on Dunkirk, endeavoured, says d'Estrades, to make him sensible of the great importance of the place with regard both to its situation and harbour, by which it had acquired so great a reputation; and he magnified the advantages which the French King would derive from it, if he should have any design to push his conquests in Flanders.[2]

It is surprising that any Englishman, much more that a minister of state, who had the least suspicion of

[1] "The corruption of our days," says Dalrymple, "however gross it may be, affords no parallel to the open and every-day practice of this period. This present—d'Estrades does not inform us what it was—was offered to the Duchess, as she returned from church with her husband. The Duke very much admired it, and the lady exhibited it with great satisfaction at Court. One of the ordinary annual items of Charles's expenditure was £10,000 in presents to foreign ambassadors."

[2] D'Estrades' Memoirs, p. 303.

the French King's design upon Flanders, should promote such a sale, and even use that as an argument to induce him to become a purchaser.

After this treaty was signed and publicly known, the clamours against it were very great, not only among the ministry, but the people of England. The principal part of the merchants of London went up to Whitehall with complaints that it would be a nest of pirates. The Chancellor told d'Estrades that it was publicly said that the French King, when once in possession of Dunkirk, would easily forget the desire which the King of England had shown of obliging him; that this had excited such murmurs against him [Charles], as even showed that he should not receive any support from Parliament, or from his subjects, in case this affair should produce any disturbance in England. Clarendon further represented that, as he had the greatest share in the business, he should be most blamed, and perhaps find his master the first to reproach him; that, to screen himself from this danger, he should be infinitely obliged to the King of France if he would write a letter testifying the kind sense which he entertained of his conduct, and at the same time hold out civil offers of assistance in case of any disagreeable consequences—offers which would not bind the French King to anything, but could not fail to produce a good effect.[1]

In compliance with this request, Louis wrote two letters to Charles and the Chancellor, to that purpose. By these means, the King might have been plunged into

[1] D'Estrades' Memoirs, p. 359.

the greatest difficulties; for, if commotions had happened in England, he might have been induced to trust to these offers, and would probably have been deceived.

This transaction was carried on during the interval of Parliament, contrary to the opinion of the whole Council, and the inclination of the people. It was begun soon after the recess, and hurried into a conclusion before the next meeting, as if purposely to prevent the Parliament's obstructing the sale, and annexing Dunkirk to the crown; for which a Bill had been resolved on, and carried through the House of Commons: indeed, as the Parliament had given the King money for supporting it, it could not properly be disposed of without their consent during their sitting.

The affair proved in its consequences of infinite prejudice. Spain and Holland grew jealous that Charles would be closely attached to the interest of France—and, from this crisis, he became so; while England, for a sum of only £400,000, and of no benefit to the public, lost a place which would have been a great security to her navigation, and which has always been a fatal rock to her trade in every war with France. No sooner was the French King in possession of Dunkirk, than he made it a free port, and took all imaginable methods for enlarging the trade and navigation of France; and, being intent on increasing his Navy, which before was inconsiderable, he commanded supernumerary seamen to be put on board the French trading-ships, and trained up at his own charge, in order to supply his men-of-war. Thus Clarendon, by this hasty

and unwarrantable sale, contributed as much to the greatness of France, by making her a maritime power, as Cromwell had done before, in supporting her interest against the crown of Spain.

The sale of Dunkirk justly exasperated the minds of the English people, especially the trading part, and Clarendon, being known to be the author of it, soon lost his credit with the public: and for want of this, and other reasons, he afterwards lost his interest with the King.

CHAPTER VIII.

Gaieties at Court.—The King's intimacy with Lady Castlemaine.—Meeting of Parliament.—Some account of Sir H. Bennet and Mr. William Coventry.—Subsidies granted to Charles.—Conduct of the Catholics.—Public discontent.—Trials for High Treason.—Resignation of Secretary Nicholas.—Appointment of Sir H. Bennet.—Trading with Guinea.—Attempt to assassinate the Duke of Buckingham.—The Queen Mother's return to England.—Marriage of the Duke of Monmouth.—Enemies of the Queen.—Appropriation of her money.—Great victory of the Portuguese.—Audacity of the Earl of Bristol.—Charges preferred by him against the Chancellor.—The King and Queen in public.—Charles enamoured of Frances Stuart.—Execution of the Marquis of Argyle.—Projected insurrection in Yorkshire.—Royal tour.—Dangerous illness of the Queen.—Fashion of perriwigs.—Dismissal of Edward Montague.—Curious speech of the King in Parliament.—Repeal of the Triennial Act.—Disputes with the Dutch.—Sir George Downing.—The King and Queen visit Chatham.—The Invisible Drummer.—Insult to Lady Castlemaine.—War with Holland.

THE new year (1663) commenced as the old had terminated, with balls and other gaieties at Court. The King was, as usual, intent only on his pleasures, and bestowing little thought upon the

affairs of the kingdom. His leading favourites were the Earl of Bristol, the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Charles Berkeley, and Lord Ashley. While the courtiers flocked round Lady Castlemaine, anxious to win her smiles and initiate themselves into her good graces, the ill-treated Queen was almost entirely neglected by her royal husband, and looked upon the brilliant scenes passing about her, comparatively unnoticed by the glittering throng of lords and ladies. "Mrs. Sarah tells us," says Pepys, "that the King sups, at least, four times every weeek with my Lady Castlemaine, and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the garden all alone, privately, and that so as the very sentries take notice of it. She tells me that, about a month ago, she quickened at my Lord Gerard's at dinner, and cried out that she was undone, and all the lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to help her."

The Parliament, which assembled in February," says Clarendon, "brought the same affection and duty with them towards the King which they had formerly, but were much troubled with what they heard and observed of the divisional Court; they had the same fidelity for the King's service, but not the same alacrity in it." The House of Commons, in fact, was not the same. Many of the original members had died, and great pains had been taken to procure the election of the King's menial servants in their stead, "so that, there was a very great number of men in all stations in the Court, as well below stairs as above, who were

members of the House of Commons; and there were very few of them who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss in church or state, and to procure whatsoever supply the King would require. Hitherto, the King had been content to refer the conduct of his affairs in Parliament to the Chancellor and the Treasurer, who had daily conferences with some select members of the House of Commons, who had always served the King, and had great influence over that assembly, for their experience and abilities; and these found means to dispose the House to such measures as were deemed desirable; "and all this," adds Clarendon, "without any noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ungrateful to Parliament; and, however they may succeed for a little time, will, in the end, be attended with prejudice."

Two persons were now introduced upon that stage who disdained to receive instructions: Sir Henry Bennet and Mr. William Coventry. The former, who had rendered himself acceptable to the King, while abroad, for his pleasant and agreeable humour, had obtained from him the appointment of agent or envoy to Spain, where he remained till the return of Charles to England, where all his thoughts were occupied, according to Clarendon, how to make benefit by the expected coming of the Duke of York, to be Admiral of the galleys, and where he followed the King's instructions no further than his humour disposed him. Indeed, the noble historian records an instance of his direct dis-

obedience of orders in regard to Peter Talbot, a Jesuit, who, after behaving with notorious insolence to the King in Flanders, had gone over to England, offered his service to Cromwell, and after his death been sent by the ruling powers to Spain, having undertaken to procure orders from his Catholic Majesty for the removal of Charles from the Netherlands. Fully apprized of the errand of Talbot, the King wrote to Bennet, desiring him to prepare Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish prime minister, for his reception, by letting him know that the Jesuit, though his natural subject, had so misbehaved that he looked upon him as a most inveterate enemy and traitor, who was sent by the greatest rebels to do him prejudice, and therefore he trusted that he would not receive countenance in Spain.

Instead of following these directions, Bennet wrote word that Talbot had more influence in the Court of Spain than he had; that he professed great devotion for the King, and therefore his advice was, that the King should have a better opinion of him, and employ him in his service. At the same time, he himself received him into his full confidence, and consulted with no man so much as with him, which caused those who believed that Bennet had any religion to conclude that he was a Roman Catholic. The unfavourable impression made upon Charles's mind by this affair, however, his envoy contrived to remove during his interview with him at Fontarabia, whence the King returned with marvellous satisfaction in his discretion as well as his affection. Soon after the King's arrival in Eng-

land, Bennet returned from Spain; and Charles conferred on him the office of Privy purse, received him into great familiarity, and into the nightly meeting, in which he filled a principal place. By the King's desire, the Chancellor now used his influence to procure the election of Bennet as a member of the House of Commons.

William Coventry was the youngest son of Lord Coventry, who had been Lord-Keeper of the great seal for many years with universal reputation. During the Civil War, though young, he had entered the army, and had the command of a company of foot. When the Royalists were beaten out of the field, he retired to France, and there remained while there was any hope of raising another army for the King, or of engaging foreign Courts in his quarrel. He then returned to England, where he passed many years in close retirement, and without correspondence with any of his friends beyond the seas, whence it was inferred even by his own family, that the restoration of monarchy was a matter of indifference to him. When Charles II. was proclaimed, Coventry, with many others, went over to the Hague to offer their services. Here he found the Duke of York, who was appointed High Admiral of England, without any fit person to discharge the office of secretary. Coventry offered himself for the employment, very honourable under such a master, says Clarendon, and in itself of the greatest profit, next the secretaries of state, if they, in that respect, be to be preferred. Having been well known

to the King and Duke in France, he was accepted. Clarendon describes him as a sullen, ill-natured, proud man, whose ambition had no limits, possessing very good abilities together with diligence and industry, which men of good parts are too often without, which made him quickly have credit and power enough with the Duke; and he was free from those vices which were too much in request, and which make men most unfit for business, and for that trust which cannot be separated from it. He had been a member of the House of Commons from the beginning of the Parliament, spoke pertinently, and was always very acceptable and favourably heard: he was also one of those who were very frequently consulted by the persons whom the King intrusted with the conduct of his affairs in the lower House.

When Sir Henry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, between whom there had been as great a league of friendship, says Clarendon, as can be between two very proud and equally ill-natured men, came to sit together in the House of Commons, they conceived that the greatest wrong imaginable would be done them if they did not entirely govern it; though the former knew no more of the laws and constitution of England than he did of China, and took not the least concern for Church or State. They made friendships with some young country-gentlemen of ordinary condition and slender fortune, who spoke confidently, and, on some occasions, seemed to have credit in the House: these Bennet took to the King, extolled their abilities and their services,

recommended them as worthy of his Majesty's notice, and represented that, when he had won them, he might carry any measure he pleased in the House. Such was the origin of the faction which undermined the influence of the Chancellor, and never rested till it had caused not only his removal from office, but likewise his banishment from the country.

The Parliament, during this session, could not be persuaded to give the King more than four subsidies, which, when he prorogued the two Houses, he said he would not have accepted if it were not absolutely necessary for their peace and quiet as well as his; and yet the sum which they had granted would be of little use unless he improved it by strict economy.

The King, as well as the nation in general, was at this time much dissatisfied with the imprudent conduct of the Roman Catholics, who were desirous to appear as if they stood upon the same level as all other subjects. He was highly offended to learn that some priests had represented to those whom they endeavoured to make their proselytes, that the King was of their religion in his heart, and would soon declare it to all the world, and heartily desired that any of those indiscreet persons might be proceeded against with severity, but he had no wish that they should be put to death, though that could scarcely be avoided if they were brought to trial on this account, unless by the exercise of his royal prerogative, and the grant of a pardon, which under those circumstances would have been attended with scandal. He proposed to submit

a Bill to Parliament for restraining the Catholics, for discouraging those lapses from Protestantism to Popery which had of late years been very frequent, and for lessening the number of the priests who resorted hither as to an infidel nation. The Catholics presented a memorial against the intended measure, which was suffered to drop, and never mentioned afterwards. The Papists, of course, grew bolder, penetrated into those apartments of the Palace which the King's chaplains never presumed to enter; and, to crown all their hopes, Lady Castlemaine professed herself of that faith, and inveighed sharply against the Church in which she had been brought up.

Meanwhile, the domestic discord at Court every day made more noise abroad; infinite calumnies and scandals were circulated among the people, who loudly expressed their discontent upon the heavy taxes and impositions which they were compelled to pay. Complaints were also made of the general want of money, and the decay of trade; but, in both cases, without foundation, for it appeared by the Customs that trade was more extensive than it had ever been, though some of the native commodities, especially cloth, seemed to be at a stand, owing to a glut in the market: and, as to the want of money, that argument was sufficiently refuted by the great purchases of estates which were every day made; for, no sooner was any considerable parcel of land offered for sale in any part of England, than a purchaser was at hand to buy it. These complaints, however, and the sudden transmission of all

the money collected for the King in specie to London, occasioned so rapid a fall of rents throughout the kingdom as had never been known before. Landlords were obliged to abate generally a fourth part at least of their annual rents, or to take their lands into their own hands. This evil was most severely felt by the nobility and gentry, who were owners of the largest estates; though all those whose property consisted in land, had their share in the suffering, which rendered the discontent general.

At the same time, the expenses of the Court and all its dependants kept increasing. So great, at length, became the discontent, that the public peace was threatened. It was discovered that a combination existed among the officers of the old army who had established correspondences throughout the whole kingdom, and had a grand committee sitting in London, which was invested with the supreme power, and sent orders to all the rest, who were to rise on a fixed day, and to meet at several places of rendezvous. Several persons were apprehended and examined by the King himself, to whom they commonly confessed more than they would to any one else; and proclamations were issued for banishing all officers who had ever borne arms against the King, to the distance of twenty miles from London. Many were tried by the judges for high treason at the general sessions at Newgate, condemned, and executed; though more were committed whose only fault consisted in keeping bad company, and listening to idle discourses. Informing had

become a trade, and those who pursued it gave the King's ministers great trouble, for few of them were willing to be produced as evidence against those whom they accused, alleging, and with reason, that, if they were known, they should be useless for the future. A general despondence seemed to possess the minds of men, as if they cared little what came to pass, "which," says Clarendon, "did not proceed so much from malice as from the disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years, and become almost incorporated into the nature of the nation."

About this time Secretary Nicholas, a faithful, industrious, and exemplary servant of the crown, who, though some years above seventy, performed all the duties of his office with punctuality, was induced to resign it, to make room for Sir Henry Bennet. He was at first offered the sum of ten thousand pounds, with any other recompense that he should choose, implying a title of honour, if he would retire: but the Secretary not only objected to the amount, but showed how little reliance he placed in the King's honour, by desiring that the recompense might be paid him before his Majesty demanded the signet. It cost the King in money, land, or lease, very little less than twenty thousand pounds to bring in a servant whom very few cared for, in the place of an old servant whom everybody loved; and the latter received all that he was promised before he resigned his place. Sir Henry Bennet's ambition was now gratified, and Charles was pleased that he had now the office of Privy-purse to confer on Sir Charles

Berkeley, "whom he every day loved with more passion, for what reason no man knew, or could imagine." Both these men were devoted to the reigning favourite, and consequently were ready to do anything that would be grateful to her.

In the unpromising state of public affairs, a resolute attempt was made to involve the country in a most unjust war with the United Provinces. Before the Civil War, the late King had granted to Sir Nicholas Crispe and others the exclusive privilege of trading to Guinea. They had bought of the natives a piece of ground contiguous to the sea, built upon it a fort and warehouses, and carried on a lucrative trade there. When Sir Nicholas betook himself to the military service of the King, some merchants continued the trade, and were put in possession, either through his consent or Cromwell's power, of the fort called Cormantine, which was still in the hands of the English when Cromwell returned. The trade, however, had greatly declined, because it had been prosecuted with much more spirit by the Dutch, who had formed a settlement at no great distance. After Charles's Restoration, at the suggestion of a number of merchants and seamen, a Joint Stock Company was formed under the presidency of the Duke of York, and thence called the Royal Company, to which a charter was granted, with the exclusive privilege of trafficking in Guinea. The returns brought by the first ships sent out by this Company were so encouraging that the adventurers compounded with Sir Nicholas Crispe for the property of the fort, formed

another settlement on the coast, and sent thither many ships, which made very profitable returns by carrying slaves to the West Indies, and bringing home gold, out of which were first coined the pieces called guineas, after the country whence it was imported.

From the commencement of this traffic, which the Duke of York was so solicitous to promote that he regularly attended the weekly councils held in his own apartments at Whitehall, it was easily discovered that the Dutch had a better trade there than the English, and that it was impossible to contest their right, as they had established themselves there before the latter. It was conceived, however, that it would be easy, with the assistance of two or three of the King's ships, to dispossess them of their settlements in Guinea, and thus to monopolize the whole trade of that country. It was evident that this advice, if followed, must plunge England into a war with the Dutch, with whom a treaty had very recently been concluded upon the same terms as that made with Cromwell. Still the scheme, recommended in season and out of season, made a deep impression on the Duke, who, accustomed from his youth to command armies, and naturally inclined to difficult and dangerous enterprizes, was weary of inactivity, and longed for any war, in which he knew he could not fail to have the chief command. On due consideration, however, of the internal state of the kingdom, as well as the precarious nature of its relations with foreign powers, the King was averse to war. The Chancellor used all possible arguments to prove the impolicy of a

rupture with the States General, and thus the design was thwarted, or rather suspended, till its projectors found a fitter opportunity for carrying it into execution.

Early in April, the Duke of Buckingham very narrowly escaped assassination at the hand of one of his servants. The Count de Comminges, ambassador at the Court of Whitehall, thus writes to the Marquis de Lionne, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Louis XIV.:—

"I do not know, nor does the Duke of Buckingham know himself, why he was prompted to retire at nine o'clock, to sup with the Duchess, his wife. His steward's valet, to all appearance a prudent and faithful person, believing that the Duke had retired to his chamber, at midnight came out of his room with a drawn sword in his hand. The man who slept with him inquired where he was going, and what he was about to do with his sword? He replied that he had heard an outcry of robbers, and that he was going to see how matters stood. He then pursued his way to the Duke's chamber, thinking to find him in bed; but, on ascertaining that he was not there, he proceeded to the apartment of the Duchess. At the door of her chamber, he encountered a valet-de-chambre, who, seeing him with his naked sword, was so dastardly as to save his own life by flight, leaving that of his master in such peril. On entering the room, he found four valets there, one of whom also had a sword. They likewise vanished as soon as the man made his appearance. The Duke now sprang out of bed, went towards

his wife, who was seated near the fire, and demanded what the intruder meant in thus breaking in upon him? He replied, 'I seek you; that's what I am come for!' At these words the Duke, observing a knife on the table, seized hold of it, and rushed upon the valet with such good success as to deprive him of his sword. After interrogating him, and finding him to be out of his mind, he went back to the door to call his attendants. The unfortunate and wicked man, however, attempted to lay hold of him, and was on the point of stabbing him with a knife which he had in his pocket; and would have accomplished his purpose had not a cry from the Duchess caused the Duke to turn round, who then struck him several times."[1] It turned out that the intruder was a fanatic.

Some time before this, Henrietta-Maria, who had expended a considerable sum of money in additions to her Palace at Somerset House, returned to England. She brought with her a youth about fifteen years old, who went by the name of Mr. Crofts, and who was generally supposed to be the son of the King, who received him with the greatest possible affection, and shortly created him Duke of Monmouth. "At Somerset House," says Pepys, "I saw Mr. Crofts, the King's bastard, a most pretty spark of about 15 years old, who I perceive do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and I hear the Queens both are mighty kind to him." The King and

[1] The French original of this letter is in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris.

Queen were very merry, and he would have made the Queen-Mother believe that his Queen was *enceinte*, and said "that she said so, and the young Queen answered, 'you lie!' which was the first English word that I ever heard her say, which made the King good sport; and he would have made her say in English, 'confess and be hanged.'"[1]

Under date of April the 20th, Pepys observes, "this day, the little Duke of Monmouth was married at Whitehall in the King's chamber, and to-night a great supper and dancing at his lodgings near Charing Cross."[2]

On the occasion of the national festival of St. George, held in St. George's Hall, at Windsor, Lady Castlemaine, who possessed unlimited power and influence over the King's mind, went thither with the Court. The young bridegroom, the Duke of Monmouth, opened the ball with Queen Catharine, and was dancing with her, holding his hat in his hand, when the King came up to him, kissed him, and made him put it on, to the great amazement of all present.[3] The people regarded this as an augury that the King intended to declare him heir to the throne. Queen Catharine, however, bore this and all other indignities with the greatest meekness, patience, and endurance. Buckingham, Bristol, and Bennet, the creatures of Lady Castlemaine, openly showed themselves to be avowed ene-

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i. p. 110.
[2] Page 38 of the present volume.
[3] Pepys' Diary, Vol. i.

mies to the Queen, and meditated the introduction of a clause in the impeachment they had prepared against Lord Clarendon, questioning the legality of her marriage with the King, who was, in consequence, so highly incensed against the Earl of Bristol for his presumption in bringing forward the matter as to forbid him his presence, as well as to threaten him with his vengeance.

It is not a little extraordinary, that in the clause in question, reference was made to "a suspicion of his Majesty's being married in his own dominions by a Romish priest," seeing that the Earl of Bristol had himself embraced the Catholic faith. "Charles," says Aubrey, "one day asked him what had caused his conversion to that belief? the Earl replied, 'May it please your Majesty, it was writing a book for the Reformation;' to which the King, who was famous for wit and repartee, rejoined, 'Pray my Lord, write a book for Popery.'"

So profligate was the King in his habits and expenditure, that he not only far exceeded his own income, but appropriated to himself the greater part of the sum settled upon the Queen by her marriage-articles. But, when she found that £40,000 had been charged to her account for the support of herself and her household during the first year of her marriage, whereas she had actually received only £4,000, she took courage to inform the Parliament of the fact. So far from resenting this, the King now paid somewhat more attention to her than usual. On the 20th of May,

the royal pair paid a state-visit to the city, when they dined with the lord-mayor.

A few days after this, she was gratified with the news of the celebrated battle of Amexial, at which the Spaniards, under Don John of Austria, were defeated with great loss, by the combined forces of England and Portugal. Charles ordered 40,000 crowns to be distributed among the English soldiers, in testimony of his approbation of their valour. This important battle secured the independence of Portugal, and the brother of Queen Catharine was soon after recognised by the Pope as King of that country.

The Queen of England at this time kept up a secret correspondence with the Pope and the Cardinals, with a view, as she conceived, of not only advancing the interests of Portugal, but also of promoting in England the religious faith of her own country. This line of policy no doubt gave rise to her subsequent implication by the agitators of the Popish plot, which led to the death of so many innocent persons.

The Earl of Bristol resided at Wimbledon, where he expended in building and gardening as much as the land was worth, and was moreover addicted to gambling, in which he had no skill. By these means, he found himself reduced to great straits, which transported him to such a degree, that he resolved to treat the King in a different manner from what he had yet done. Accordingly, having obtained admittance to the monarch in his own closet, and asked for something which his Majesty did not think fit to grant, he told

him that he well knew the cause why he had withdrawn his favour from him; that it was owing entirely to the Chancellor, who governed him and managed all his affairs, while he spent all his time in pleasures and debauchery; and, in this passion, upbraided him with many excesses, to which no man had contributed more than himself. He concluded with declaring that, if the King did not grant what he desired within twenty-four hours, he would do something that should awaken him out of his slumber, and make him look better to his own business, adding many threats against the Chancellor.

All this passed before the Lord Aubigny, who was not more astounded than Charles himself, and though he gave the insolent Earl more sharp words than were natural to him, he acknowledged afterwards that he had not that presence of mind which he ought to have had, or he should have instantly called the guard, and sent him to the Tower.

The time specified by the Earl being past, he on the 10th of July went to the House of Peers with a paper in his hand; and, after lamenting the state of public affairs, said that the King had lost much of his honour and the affection which he had had in the hearts of his people. This misfortune he attributed entirely to the power and credit of the Chancellor, whom, for the sake of the country, he accused of high treason in the paper written with his own hand and subscribed with his name, which he desired might be read. It contained many charges of high treason and other mis-

demeanours, and alleged that he had administered public affairs unskilfully, corruptly, and traitorously, as he was ready to prove.

Pepys thus recites the principal charges preferred against the Chancellor: "that he was the cause of the late disadvantageous peace with Holland; 2dly, that Dunkirk was sold chiefly by his advice, to the great damage of England; 3dly, that he had £6,000 paid to him for the drawing up or promoting of the recent Irish declaration respecting the division of lands there; 4thly, that he carried on the alliance between the King and Catharine of Braganza, knowing she was incapable of bearing children, to the great prejudice of the crown of England; 5thly, that he connived at the marriage between his own daughter and the Duke of York, with a view to his own elevation; 6thly, that he was instrumental in breaking off the match with Parma, and that he had endeavoured to promote Popery in this kingdom."

The Chancellor addressed the House in his vindication. He discussed most of the articles to shew the impossibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the King's honour than his; and he contended that, even though all the allegations were true, they could not amount to high treason. On this point, he desired that the judges might be required to deliver their opinion, which the Lords ordered the judges to do. A copy of the articles was sent by the House, through the Lord Chamberlain, to the King, who returned his thanks to the Peers, and intimated that he considered those articles as a libel upon himself rather

than a charge against the Chancellor, who, to his knowledge, was innocent in all the particulars alleged against him. The judges also gave their opinion in favour of the Chancellor, who moved that a short day should be given to the Earl of Bristol to produce evidence in proof of his charges, or that he might be required to make such reparation as the House might think proportionate to the indignity. The Earl promised to produce evidence, but he could not appoint any time when he should be ready, as some of his witnesses were abroad. Soon afterwards, learning that the King had given warrants to a sergeant-at-arms for his apprehension, he concealed himself in several places for nearly two years, sometimes sending letters, and petitions by his wife to the King, who would not receive them; but, in the end, Lady Castlemaine and Sir Henry Bennet prevailed upon his Majesty to see him privately, for he would not admit him to the Court, nor recall the warrants for his apprehension; so that he could not appear in public till the disgrace of the Chancellor, when he again went to Court and Parliament in great triumph.

The appearance of the King and Queen in public, on the 13th of July, is thus noted by Pepys:—

"Hearing that the King and Queen are rode abroad with the ladies of honour to the Parke, and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return I also staid, walking up and down. By and bye, the King and Queen, who looked in this dress (a white laced waistcoate and a crimson short pettycoate, and

her hair dressed *à-la-negligence*) mighty pretty, and the King rode hand in hand with her. Here also my Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; but the King, methought, took no notice of her; nor when she alighted, did anybody press (as she seemed to expect, and staid for it) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat, (which all took notice of), and yet it is very handsome but very melancholy.. Nor did anybody speak to her, or she so much as smile, or speak to anybody. I followed them up into Whitehall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beauties and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked, and a red plume, with her sweet eyes, little Roman nose, and excellent *taille*, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in all my life; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress. Nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine."[1]

Although the King was deeply fascinated with his new mistress, Frances Stuart, he greatly feared and dreaded the imperious one who ruled him in everything, which may possibly be ascribed, in some measure, to his

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. ii. p. 74.

having confided to her many important secrets which he thought she might, if offended, divulge to his prejudice. Be this as it may, he took great delight in the society of the fair Stuart. This very young lady was the daughter of Walter Stuart, Lord Blantyre, who lost his all in the defence of his royal relative, Charles I. She was born just before the execution of the unfortunate monarch, and was educated in France, where her charms, while yet a mere child, attracted the attention of Louis XIV. After staying with Henrietta-Maria as one of her ladies, she accompanied her to England, where she was appointed Maid of Honour to Queen Catharine.

On her arrival at the English Court, she spent most of her time with Lady Castlemaine, and hence came into immediate contact with the King, who paid her the most assiduous attentions, and, although we have no proof that there was any guilty intimacy between them, her flirtations with the King gave rise to much scandal.[1]

In Scotland, whither Middleton had been sent as the King's commissioner, on the meeting of Parliament, the Marquis of Argyle, who had been sent by sea from the Tower of London to Leith, was brought to trial on many charges of treason and murder. Of the former, there was not sufficient evidence; but it was clearly proved that many horrid murders had been committed by his order on persons whose estates he had immediately seized, and that he had been guilty of other monstrous acts of oppression. The Parliament, there-

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. ii. p. 116.

fore, condemned him to be hanged on a gallows of unusual height on the spot where he had caused the Marquis of Montrose to be formerly executed. He exhibited great courage and resolution, and expressed much affection and zeal for the Covenant; for which he desired it to be supposed that he was put to death. A seditious preacher, named Gillespie, underwent the like trial and sentence, with the same faith in the Covenant; and these appear to have been the only executions that marked the Restoration of Charles in Scotland.

The Scotch Parliament repealed, without hesitation, all Acts prejudicial to the Crown and royal dignity which had been passed since the beginning of the Civil War, and branded the Covenant with deserved reprobation. They besought the King to select fit persons to fill the episcopal sees, which were at that time all vacant. They voted a standing militia of 40,000 men, to be always ready to march upon the King's orders, and granted him such a sum of money as could be reasonably expected from so poor a country for defraying the necessary expenses. Bishops were accordingly appointed for Scotland, and ordained and consecrated in London. At the solicitation of the Parliament, also, the King consented to withdraw the English garrisons from Scotland, and to raze the fortresses erected by Cromwell in different parts of the country for the purpose of curbing the nation.

In the summer of this year, a plan for an insurrection in Yorkshire, attributed to the disbanded officers of the army, was discovered. Some men of fortune and dis-

cretion were said to be engaged in this plot, the first object of which was to seize the city of York. The King sent troops thither to occupy the city, and to attend some of the places of rendezvous, where many of the insurgents were secured. All the prisons in the north were so full that four or five of the judges were sent from London to York with a special commission to try the delinquents. Though the judges had reason to believe that they had not discovered the bottom of the conspiracy, they found cause to condemn many. Seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and a great number left in prison to be tried at the next assizes.

On the 27th of July, the King passed a month at Tunbridge Wells with the Queen, who had gone thither to drink the waters for the benefit of her health, the fair Stuart attending her as one of her maids of honour. After staying at that place about a month, the Court removed to Bath; and, on the 5th of September, the King, Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and Prince Rupert went in great state to Bristol, where they were splendidly entertained by the mayor. The royal party afterwards visited Bath, Oxford, and various other places, where their Majesties received a most welcome reception from their loyal subjects. After this little tour, the King and Queen returned to Whitehall. The very night of his arrival, Charles renewed his intimacy with Lady Castlemaine, with whom he supped. It is a curious fact that, on this evening, the Thames inundated Lady Castlemaine's kitchen, so as to prevent

the cook roasting the chine of beef destined for his Majesty's supper. On the cook acquainting her with this circumstance, the irate lady exclaimed "Zounds! she must set the house on fire, but the chine should be roasted. So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted."[1]

Shortly after this, the Queen was attacked by a dangerous illness, which proved to be the spotted fever; and, for some days, the Court physicians entertained little hopes of her recovery. The Queen's illness was attended with delirium, and she fancied that she had been brought to bed of a boy, which was an ugly one. But the King being by, said "No; it is a very pretty boy;" to which she made this complimentary reply, "If it be like you, it is a fine boy indeed, and I would be very well pleased with it."[2] She afterwards laboured under the delusion of having given birth to three children, and that one of these was a girl, and very like the King.

Charles is said to have been so deeply affected at the dangerous condition of his royal consort as, on one occasion, to have been removed by force from her room in a fainting state. "Notwithstanding," remarks Pepys, "the King appeared to feel for his wife, he supped every evening at Lady Castlemaine's, and conversed freely as usual with Miss Stewart."

For some days, Catherine still laboured under occasional fits of delirium, but was perfectly restored to

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. ii. p. 102.
[2] Ibid. p. 108.

health by the end of the year. Pepys, under date of November 2, remarks, "I never till this day observed that the King was mighty grey," and it was probably owing to this circumstance that he now adopted the prevailing fashion of wearing a perriwig. Perriwigs had come into vogue immediately after the Restoration. The 'cropped Roundheads being anxious to avoid the sneers of the Royalists, the moment the tide turned, deemed it prudent to assume the flowing locks peculiar to the Cavaliers. These perriwigs gave rise to a succession of similar appendages of various kinds and fashions, which, for more than a century after, ornamented the heads of English gentlemen.

The King, accompanied by the Queen, opened the sessions of Parliament on the 21st of March, 1664; and, in the course of his address, spoke of the various plots said to be in agitation against his person and the peace of his kingdom. He also deprecated and demanded the repeal of Triennial Parliaments.

The Act for Triennial Parliaments, which Hume, in contradiction with himself, denominates "an innovation in the Constitution," but to the framers of which he cannot deny the character of "vigilant" patriots, was passed in 1640. By this Act, the Chancellor was bound, under severe penalties, to issue writs by the 3rd of September in every third year. If he failed in his duty, any twelve or more of the peers were to exert this authority. In default of the peers, the sheriffs and other proper officers were to summon the voters. But, in case of neglect on the part of the civil officers, the voters

were to meet in their own right, and proceed to the election of members in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the Crown: nor could the Parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days.

Catharine never interfered in politics, nor did she even attempt to countenance, or serve, those who were inclined to be her friends. Indeed, it was sufficient for her to distinguish any of the courtiers in particular, to mark them out at once as objects of the King's displeasure. Thus, in May, young Edward Montague, son of Lord Manchester, Master of the Horse to the Queen, was disgraced and turned out of the Court for no other fault than the pride he took in her Majesty's favour; not that Charles either valued her affections, or doubted her discretion, but acting merely from a love of contradiction, a petty jealousy of power, or a fear of the raillery of such profligates as Rochester, Buckingham, and Killigrew, his all-licensed jester. But Catharine allowed him few opportunities of thus mortifying her. She meekly submitted to this proceeding, but did not appoint any other person to fill his place until after his decease.

In his speech to Parliament in May, the King made some remarks on the state of the public revenue which appear rather curious. It has been stated that, in the last session, they granted him four subsidies: Charles repeated his thanks for this supply, but said that it had fallen very short of what he expected. He

complained that many persons possessing estates of three or four thousand pounds a-year did not pay sixteen pounds for these four subsidies, being less in proportion than in the time of Elizabeth; that people believed it to be no sin to defraud the Crown of its due; that, no sooner had they given him tonnage and poundage, than men devised all the means they could to rob him of the duties; that, in regard to excise, which all foreigners believed to be the most insensible imposition which can be laid upon a people, they would hear in Westminster Hall into what conspiracies and combinations the brewers had entered to bring that revenue to nothing. They had given him the chimney money, in the belief that it was a growing revenue, for men build at least fast enough, but they would be surprised to learn that it had declined, and that this half-year brings in less than the former did. He begged them, therefore, to review that Bill; and, as he was sure that they wished him to receive whatsoever they gave, he hoped that he might have the collecting of it by his own officers, and then he had no doubt of improving the receipt.

An additional Act relative to chimney-money, which would make that revenue more considerable, and another against frequenting conventicles, was in consequence passed; the Act for Triennial Parliaments was repealed.

This session of Parliament passed without any new impositions: hence those who were solicitous to promote a war with Holland, conceived that it would be un-

seasonable to urge such measure; still they might make such an approach towards it as might facilitate a further advance. The merchants, in the Committee of Trade, lamented the obstructions to the commerce by sea with other nations, which they imputed to the pride and insolence of the Dutch, who observed no treaties. They complained that, besides many intolerable indignities offered by them to his Majesty and the Crown of England, his subjects had sustained damage by them to the amount of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds. This memorial of the Committee of Trade was referred by the House to the King, who transmitted it to his resident at the Hague, with instructions to require satisfaction.

This resident, Sir George Downing, was a member of the House, and had done more to inflame men's minds against the Dutch than the merchants themselves. He was a man of obscure birth, and still more obscure education, which he had received in New England. He had been chaplain, and held other offices in the army of Cromwell, whose confidence he had contrived to gain, and under his countenance married a lady of noble extraction and great beauty, like many other bold men in that presumptuous time. When the Protector had humbled the Dutch, and made peace with them, he sent Downing, being a man of a proud and insolent spirit, to reside among them as his agents. In this post, he was not backward to manifest his animosity against the royal cause.

Thus, when Charles, during his residence at Brus-

sels, made a journey *incognito*, with not more than four persons for his amusement, to see Amsterdam and the towns of North Holland, Downing, being apprized of the circumstance, presented a memorial to the States appealing to the treaty with Cromwell, and requiring them to order Charles and his companions to quit the Dutch territory. A Proclamation to that effect was accordingly published in the principal towns, and the States of Holland sent to his sister, who was then at her country-seat of Hounslerdyke, desiring that if her brother were then with her, or should come to her, he should forthwith depart out of their province.

After Cromwell's death, Downing changed his tone; and, when the Marquis of Ormond about that time made a journey *incognito* to the Hague concerning a marriage of his eldest son with a noble lady whose family resided there, Downing found an opportunity to have a private conference with him, and made an offer of his services to the King. Ormond conceived, from secret information which he furnished, that these were worth securing. Downing, on his part, desired no further emolument than to be confirmed in the offices which he then held of a teller in the Exchequer and resident in Holland, which Charles had no hesitation in promising. In the following year, when he came to the Hague to embark for England, he knighted Downing, and left him there as his resident; and, in this capacity, he seems, according to Clarendon's account, to have taken no pains to reconcile differences, but only to exasperate them.

The States urged, in reply to the memorial transmitted by the King, that most of the particulars complained of, were put under oblivion by the late treaty, in consideration of which they had conceded several advantages; that others were, by the same treaty, referred to a process in justice, of which there was yet no cause to complain, and that no occasion for misunderstanding had been furnished since the treaty was concluded; and all this was true, says Clarendon; unfortunately, such occasion too soon occurred.

The Dutch, possessing a naval force superior to that of other commercial nations, had in the East Indies commenced a system of blockading with their ships certain ports and towns where they learned that other Europeans carried on an advantageous traffic. This new practice they pretended to enforce on the coast of Guinea. Being at war, as they alleged, with one of the native princes, they would not suffer English ships to enter those harbours where they had always traded. Charles ordered this complaint to be added to the others, and charged his resident to demand a formal renunciation of this usurped prerogative.

As in most quarrels both parties are in fault, so it happened on this occasion. To the just complaint of England, the Dutch answered by another equally just. One of the ships-of-war which the King had sent to convoy the fleet of the Royal Company to Guinea, had on the voyage thither attacked, on what provocation we are not informed, and taken a fort belonging to the Dutch near Cape Verde. The States, through their

ambassador, demanded the punishment of the captain, and restitution of the fort. The King assured the ambassador that he had not heard of the circumstance; that the captain had no authority for such a proceeding; that, as he must then be on his voyage homeward, and was expected speedily, the affair should be investigated; the officer should receive such punishment as the nature of the offence required, and full reparation should be made to the States. Dissatisfied with this answer, they ordered a strong fleet to be equipped, and made preparations for war. A fleet was likewise fitted out for Guinea, the commander of which was commissioned to reduce the settlements of the English in those parts, and to do them all the mischief he could. Charles immediately directed a fleet to be prepared to foil this design, and Prince Rupert was appointed to command it.

In July, at her express wish, Charles took the Queen and his royal mother to Chatham, where they went on board one of the ships composing the fleet, to see them set sail. On this occasion, the King, in consequence of divesting himself of his perriwig and waistcoat, on account of the heat of the weather, caught a violent cold which brought on a fever, for which he was bled. This confined him to his room for two or three days.[1]

Not a little curiosity was excited at Court this year by the report of Mr. Mompesson relative to nocturnal noises heard in his house at Tedworth, in Wiltshire, by the

[1] Despatches of the Count de Comminges to M. de Lionne.

vagaries of an invisible drummer, who had frightened his family every night for more than a year past.

Charles sent the gallant Lord Falmouth (who was afterwards killed in a memorable naval engagement with the Dutch) and Lord Chesterfield to investigate into the matter. But neither of them could hear or see any thing remarkable.

The reigning favourite at Court, whose scandalous conduct formed a theme of public conversation and reprobation, met with a little adventure on the last day in September, which must have been anything but gratifying to her.

"Two days ago," writes the Count de Comminges to M. de Lionne, "Lady Castlemaine going in the evening to visit the Duchess, at present residing at St. James's accompanied only by a female attendant and a little page, was encountered by three gentlemen, (or at least they appeared such, to judge from their dress) who wore masks, and addressed to her the most rude and insulting language imaginable. They went so far as to say that the mistress of Edward IV. died on a dunghill, despised and abandoned by all the world. No sooner did she reach her chamber than she fainted: the King, hearing of this, hastened to her assistance, and on being informed of the whole proceeding, ordered all the park gates to be closed, and every one found in it to be arrested. Seven or eight persons were taken up, and confronted, but were not identified. The affair soon got wind, although attempts were made to stifle it, which indeed it would have been difficult to do."

The King and Queen went to see a ship-launch at Woolwich on the 26th of October, accompanied by many lords and ladies. Charles greatly admired the vessel, which was built by Pett, and carried seventy guns, observing, "she had the finest bow that he had ever seen." They proceeded as far as the Nore in the newly-launched ship, and returned in the royal yacht, when they encountered a tempest, from the effects of which the ladies suffered greatly from sickness.

Parliament met again in November. The King forbore to demand a supply; an ordinary supply would only have served to encourage the Dutch to persevere in their pretensions, and he could not expect an extraordinary one, unless war was inevitable. The States now expressed their desire that Prince Rupert's fleet might be kept in port, as theirs bound for Guinea should also be, till means might be found for the accommodation of all differences. This proposal was agreed to; but, before it was made, the States had, with great privacy, sent orders to their admiral, De Ruyter, who was in the Mediterranean, to sail for Guinea, to recover the fort taken by the English, and to reduce all the settlements of the latter in that quarter. When the King learned how he had been outwitted, he issued orders for the seizure of all Dutch ships, in compensation for any damage that he might sustain in Guinea, and the Duke of York put to sea with a fleet of fifty sail. Many Dutch vessels returning with wines from France were detained, but not suffered to be unladen, or any harm done to them, till the arrival of in-

telligence of De Ruyter's proceedings in Africa. It was soon known that he was vigorously fulfilling the commission on which he had been despatched, so that war was actually commenced, and Parliament, at meeting, granted two millions and a half for carrying it on with vigour.

Accordingly, at the end of the year, the greatest preparations were made for this purpose. Charles himself visited the different sea-ports, inspecting the different ships, and took the most active interest in all that pertained to the proper and efficient equipment of the fleet. The King of France, during these transactions, remained neutral, although repeatedly applied to by the Dutch, to espouse their cause.

CHAPTER IX.

The English Fleet put to sea.—The Great Plague.—Death of the Queen-mother. — Signal victory over the Dutch. — Charles and the Duke of York visit the fleet.—Mortality in London.—The King removes to Hampton Court, and thence to Salisbury.—The Duke proceeds to the North.—Charles negociates with Sweden and Denmark.—Flees sent to Bergen.—Engagement with the Dutch.—Indisposition of his Majesty.—Visited by the French ambassadors.—Their dismissal.—Meeting of the Parliament at Oxford.—Sir W. Coventry and the Earl of Arlington.—De Ruyter defeated by the Earl of Sandwich.—Bill for Supply.—Insolence of Sir G. Downing.—Decrease of the Plague, and return of Charles to Whitehall.—France proclaims war against England.—Treaty between Louis XIV. and the Bishop of Munster.—Miscarriage of the Queen.—Lady Castlemaine brought to bed of a boy.—Great Sea-fight with the Dutch, —Exploit of Sir R. Holmes.—Visit of their Majesties to Tunbridge Wells.—The great Fire of London.

IN April, 1665, the Duke of York put to sea with a fleet of a hundred ships, on board of which were many persons of title and fortune, who went as volunteers. Among these was the Duke

of Buckingham, who, though he had never been at sea before, and was, of course, utterly ignorant of naval matters, claimed the command of a ship; but, as this was peremptorily refused by the Duke of York, Buckingham quitted the fleet in great dudgeon.

The Plague, which had broken out the preceding winter in London, meanwhile spread so fast as to produce universal consternation. Alarmed at its progress, the Queen-mother returned in July to France, and took so many things with her, that people concluded she had no intention to come back. Be this as it may, she never re-visited England.[1]

At length the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number to the English, set sail under the chief command of Opdam, though he had never been at sea before. The hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the first of June; but, owing to the state of the wind, they could not approach near enough to engage till the 3rd. This great battle took place between Southwold and Harwich. The enemy advanced with great courage and resolution. Opdam, with his squadron, bore down upon the Duke of York, intending to board him; but, before he came near enough, whether owing to an accident on board his own ship, or to a granado, or other shot, from that of the Duke, his gun-room took fire, and in a moment the ship sank with every soul on board. The vice-

[1] Henrietta died at her castle of Colombe, about four leagues from Paris, on the 31st of August, 1669, and was interred on the 12th of September, at St. Denis, her heart having been previously deposited in the nunnery of Chaillot.

admiral of the same squadron advanced with the same object, and was only prevented from accomplishing it by the gallantry of Captain Smith, of the Duke's squadron, who placed his ship between, and boarded the vice-admiral. The latter, attacked likewise by the Duke, was taken, after most of his men were killed and the captain himself was so severely wounded, that he died soon after he was brought on board the Duke's ship, complaining of his companions for not having seconded him, according to an oath which they had taken on board the admiral the day before.

The fight continued all day, with very great loss of men on both sides; though, after the first two hours, the Dutch, seeing many of their best ships burnt, and more taken, strove to separate themselves from the English fleet, but were so closely pursued that they, perceiving they lost more by flying than by fighting, slackened sail, in hopes that evening would enable them to escape. When the approach of night put an end to the combat, the Duke, fatigued by the labour of the day, having lost above two hundred men on board his own ship, was prevailed upon to take some refreshment and repose, after he had given the master, an honest and skilful seaman, a strict charge to bear up in such a manner upon the Dutch fleet, that he might be as close to it at day-break as he then was. The English ships had no guide but the lantern of the admiral, and were, of course, not to outsail him. But, when the Duke rose at dawn, the Dutch were out of sight, and had either reached their own ports, or got under

shelter of their flats, so that it was not advisable for the large ships to pursue them further; but a few, which were either slower sailers, or had not steered so direct a course as the others, were taken by the smaller vessels. Many of his own ships having suffered severely, the Duke returned to port to refit.

The cause of the disappointment of the Duke, who fully intended to follow up his victory, in which case it is probable that nearly the whole of the enemy's fleet might have been destroyed, is attributed by Lord Clarendon to Mr. Brounker of his bed-chamber, who took upon himself to issue orders to slacken sail, by pretending to have authority from his master, which the Duke afterwards disclaimed. "Brounker's ill course of life, and his abominable nature," adds Clarendon, "had rendered him so odious that notice was taken of it in Parliament; and, on investigation, it was found to be true. He was, in consequence, expelled the House of Commons as an infamous person."

The English had achieved a signal triumph. They had sunk, burnt, and taken eighteen ships of war, half of them being the best in the enemy's fleet, with the loss of a single small ship. It is true the number of the killed and wounded was very great. Among the former were many persons of high rank. On board the Duke's own ship, there fell Sir Charles Berkeley, (recently created Earl of Falmouth,) Lord Muskerry, eldest son of the Earl of Clancarty, a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been Colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders, and had the

general estimation of an excellent officer. He was of the Duke's bedchamber, and both he and Falmouth were so near the Duke when they fell, that he was covered with their blood. In the same ship was also slain Mr. Boyle, younger son of the Earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope, who had recently returned from his travels, with many other gentlemen volunteers.

In the ships of Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich, both of whom displayed extraordinary skill and courage, many men were killed, and some volunteers of the best families. The Earl of Marlborough, an experienced seaman, who had lately returned from the East Indies, whither he had been sent with a squadron to receive possession of Bombay, was likewise slain in this battle. He was a man of extraordinary attainments in all kinds of learning, in which he took more delight than in his title; and, having no great patrimonial estate, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than wealth could have given him. The Earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, one of the best in the fleet, and lost his life by his side. He was a young man of good abilities, the son of a wise and worthy father, who died a few months before, and with whom the Earl of Marlborough had maintained a long and sincere friendship. Having lately come of age, his son, though of a melancholy disposition, intended to devote himself to an active life, under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died bravely.

But the greatest loss the British navy sustained this day, was that of Sir John Lawson, who was Admiral of a squadron, and so eminent for skill and conduct in maritime affairs, that the greatest seamen were ready to defer to his opinion and advice. In the middle of the engagement, he was struck by a musket-ball upon the knee, and fell. Finding that he could not stand, he sent to the Duke, desiring that another officer might be appointed to take the command of his ship. The wound was not thought to be mortal; and he was quickly put on shore as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where, for some days, there were hopes of his recovery; but mortification took place, and he died with great courage, professing entire fidelity to the King.

Though this victory afforded just ground for public triumph, yet the loss of so many noble, brave, and accomplished men could not but occasion deep and extensive private mourning; "but," says Lord Clarendon, "no sorrow was equal, or at least, so remarkable as that of the King for the Earl of Falmouth. Those who knew his Majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had borne other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears which he shed on this occasion. The safety of his brother, for which he had felt the strongest apprehensions during the three days' fight, having heard the thunder of the cannon from the commencement till the decreasing noise seemed to denote that the enemy was in flight, the honour which he had acquired by the victory, and the joy expressed in the

countenances of those about him, could not mitigate his grief for the loss of his young favourite."

The Duke, having given directions for the repair of the fleet, and for the despatch of such ships as could be speedily made ready towards the coast of Holland, hastened to present himself to the King and his mother. The latter, who was ready to set out for France, had delayed her journey for some days, to await the issue of the expected fight and to see the Duke. At parting, she prevailed upon the King to promise her that his brother should not go again in person to command the fleet; but Charles kept this circumstance secret, because the confidence inspired by the notion of the Duke's going, essentially facilitated the equipment of the ships and the raising of money for the expenses of various kinds. To the latter object, the increase of the plague contributed not a little: for those who had money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their houses, where they durst not stay themselves: they were therefore glad to put it into the hands of the bankers, who supplied the King upon such assignations as the late vote of Parliament and other branches of his revenue would yet bear.

In less than a month, the fleet was again ready for sea, and as strong and in as good condition as before the battle. The King and the Duke went to inspect it, and, during the journey, Charles acquainted his brother with the promise which he had been obliged to give to the Queen, their mother, and with his determination that Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich

should have the joint command of the fleet. The Duke, much chagrined, strove to divert the King from his purpose, but in vain. Coventry, his secretary, who had long borne a grudge against Prince Rupert, "for not esteeming him at the rate he valued himself," on learning the intended change, persuaded the Duke that it would be much better to commit the sole command to the Earl, and his advice was followed by the King. It was not till the moment that the royal brothers were ready to return from the fleet, which was ready to sail with the first fair wind, that the King told Prince Rupert, without assigning any reasons, that he expected him to go back with him to London, and to accompany him that summer, as he had given the undivided command of the fleet to the Earl of Sandwich. The Prince was "wonderfully surprised, perplexed, and even heart-broken, but there was no contending; he staid behind the King to disembark his goods and household, and then returned in great disappointment to Court." The Earl of Sandwich sailed with the fleet, having directions first to visit the coast of Holland; and, if he found that the Dutch were not ready to come out, to proceed northward to wait for their East India fleet, which had orders to take that course, because the English were masters of the channel.

It was the end of June, or the beginning of July, when the King returned from the fleet. The mortality in London from the plague had now increased to about two thousand in a week. The disease had spread to Westminster, and people began to cry out against the

King's neglect of his own safety in remaining so long at Whitehall. Having made arrangements with the Lord-Mayor for preserving order in the city, and for the relief and regulation of infected persons, and prevailed on some justices of the peace in the Strand and in Westminster to promise to reside there, the King removed to Hampton Court. The example of the Duke of Albemarle, on this occasion, had great influence. He declared that he should not leave his lodgings in Whitehall, and accordingly remained there during the whole time of the pestilence; and, out of friendship to him, Lord Craven likewise stayed in his house in Drury Lane, "and it cannot be denied that the presence of those two great persons prevented many mischiefs, which would have fallen out by the disorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town."

The plague was soon spreading over the country around the metropolis, and had reached some of the villages near Hampton Court. The King, therefore, resolved that his family and his brother's should remove to Salisbury for the summer. As it was evident that it would not be fit for the Parliament to assemble at Westminster in September, to which time it was prorogued, he issued a Proclamation, intimating that he intended to adjourn it to meet at Oxford in October. Having fixed the time for his departure for Salisbury, the carriages for himself and the Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and both their households, were in waiting to receive them, when Mr. Coventry, whom Lord Claren-

don certainly represents as a consummate Marplot, found means to derange the plan. He assigned reasons why he conceived it to be advisable that the King and the Duke should not be together, and proposed to the latter, that, as his Majesty was going to the West, where he could scarcely have any correspondence with the fleet, his highness should go to the North, and reside at York, where he would have an influence upon all those parts in which the disaffected were most numerous, and where he could not be long without intelligence through Hull, or other points of the coast. Little persuasion was needed: "the constitution of the Court at this time was such, the prevalence of the ladies so great, and the Queen's humour thereupon so inconstant, and all things together, so discomposed the King, that there was no pleasure in being part of it; therefore, the advice was as soon embraced as given by the Duke and his wife, who were well content to enjoy themselves in their own family apart." It was approved also by the King, and all the coaches and carriages being then at the doors, the King set out for Farnham, and the Duke for St. Alban's, which was to be the extent of their first day's journey.

On the first probability of a war with the Dutch, the King sent Mr. Henry Coventry to Sweden, and Sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to engage, if possible, the friendship of those crowns on behalf of the King. They were favourably received, both countries having great reason to complain of the conduct of Holland. On the part of Denmark, this animosity was shown, according to Clarendon's account, in a very extraordi-

nary manner. He tells us that the King's chief minister, named Gabell, who had acquired his influence by having been the King's barber, was an uneducated, illiterate man, and yet his master's sole confidant in matters of the greatest trust. Early one morning, this minister came to the English envoy, and told him that his master was resolved to unite his interest entirely with that of the King of England, having now an opportunity of doing so with security to the advantage of both. He said that letters had arrived in the preceding night from Bergen, in Norway, with news that the Dutch East India ships had arrived in that port, where they intended to wait for a fleet to convoy them home. He proposed that immediate notice should be sent to the English fleet, which was known to be at sea, and which might easily surprise all the ships in the port, since they should receive no opposition from the forts which commanded the harbour. In this case, his Danish Majesty would rely upon the honour of the King of England to remit him half the value of the booty after the arrival of the ships in the latter country, and he would publicly protest against the act as a violence that he could not resist. This proposal, repeated by the King to Talbot, was transmitted to Charles a few days after his arrival at Salisbury, and an express was immediately sent back with his Majesty's consent and ratification, and letters to the Earl of Sandwich, with instructions for executing the design. He accordingly sent a squadron of fifteen or sixteen stout ships to Bergen, and a letter to the governor.

The Dutch Indiamen, about twelve in number, were found riding very near the shore, under the protection of the castle, to which they had removed the richest part of their cargoes. The English squadron entered, to the great consternation of the Dutch, who nevertheless made preparations for defence.

That day and the next were lost in consultation between the commander of the English squadron, a rough man, but a brave and good officer, and the governors of the town and castle, who wished the attack to be deferred till the arrival of the viceroy, who was hourly expected. During this interval, the Dutch had not been idle. They had taken all the cannon from that side of their ships which was next the shore, on land, and planted them upon a rising ground from which they could fire over their own vessels upon the English, in case of attack. A breast-work also had been thrown up, behind which all the townspeople were in arms.

On the morning of the 3rd of August, the English ships were brought as near to those of the Dutch as possible, and the attack commenced. The assailants dismounted many of the Dutch cannon on shore, and were ready to board the ships, when some of the English guns were directed against the breast-work and the town, and battered down some houses. The fire of musketry from the breast-work and of the guns of the castle killed a great number of the English, who, unable to cope with the latter, were only solicitous to get out of the harbour. As the fire from the shore ceased with theirs, and they had native pilots on board, this object

was safely accomplished. It was in this action that Edward Montague, the Queen's master of the horse, was slain, having, in a fit of indignation at his late dismissal, volunteered to serve on board the fleet.

After the retreating squadron had rejoined the Earl of Sandwich, whom the noise of the guns had drawn to the mouth of the harbour, an attempt was made by the viceroy to renew the negociation; but the English admiral, having received intelligence that De Ruyter, who had returned from Guinea, and been appointed to the chief command of the Dutch fleet, was at sea, and unwilling to be obliged to fight on that dangerous coast, declined to incur any more hazards, and sailed in quest of the Dutch fleet.

The King did not make so long a stay at Salisbury as he had intended, partly on account of accidental indisposition, which made him dislike the air, and partly because some inferior servants and their wives, who came from London or the neighbouring villages, had brought the plague with them. The Court removed before the end of September to Oxford, where the Parliament was to assemble on the 10th of the following month. Before he left Salisbury, his Majesty sent an express to his brother to meet him as soon as he could. The Duke had lived in great splendour at York, with the high respect and continual attendance of all the persons of quality in that large county. No sooner did he receive his Majesty's summons than he took post, leaving his wife and family to follow by ordinary journeys, and arrived at Oxford the day after the King.

While Charles was at Salisbury, the French ambassador had come thither, and urged him to consent to treat with the Dutch, to whom their master was so far engaged that, if the King would not accept of a just and honourable peace, his most Christian Majesty must espouse their cause, which he was unwilling to do. The King complained that, if there was any such engagement, he was ill treated by the King of France, who had given his word that he would not enter into any treaty with the Dutch but hand in hand with his Majesty; and, when he had been informed that some treaty was concluded with them, he had been assured from France that it was only a treaty of commerce, in which there could be nothing to his Majesty's prejudice. He added that, unless the Dutch were desirous of peace as well as he, it would not become him to make any propositions.

On his coming to Oxford, the French ambassadors desired frequent audiences, in one of which they declared that their master was bound by his treaty with the Dutch to assist them with men, money, and ships, in case they were invaded or attacked; but this he had deferred doing, in hopes the King would accept his mediation. It appears that, though the nations were at war, the Dutch still had an ambassador in England, who, Clarendon says, had come to town, rather to treat concerning the prisoners, and to see what the French ambassadors did, than to propose anything in order to peace. The Dutch, in fact, were not desirous of peace. They conceived that the plague, raging so violently in

London at the end of September as to carry off upwards of six thousand in one week, would render it impossible for the King to equip a fleet in the following year. Charles, therefore, remarked very justly, that it was very strange that the French King should press in behalf of the Dutch for that which they themselves manifested no wish to have.

The ambassadors of France received instructions to urge the King once more to declare what he meant to insist upon, in order to peace; and, if he refused to do so, they were to return home forthwith. At this audience, they assumed a higher tone than they had before employed, and complained of the immense injury which French commerce had suffered from the indiscriminate captures made by English privateers. They estimated the damage thus sustained by their merchants at five hundred thousand pistoles. They represented it as a particular token of their master's friendship that he had hitherto forborne to act upon an offensive treaty which had so long been concluded; and added very earnest persuasions that the King would consent to such a peace as their master should judge to be reasonable.

The King was too indignant at the treatment which he had received from France to comply with her dictates in this instance. He, therefore, resolved to dismiss the ambassadors without any answer but a complaint of the want of kindness of the French King, though his Majesty had cultivated his friendship in every way since his Restoration; but without an equal

return, since he preferred the friendship of the Dutch before that of his Majesty. Accordingly, they set out for France with liberal presents and gracious demonstrations of esteem for their persons.

The Parliament, summoned by Proclamation to meet on the 10th of October at Oxford, assembled in greater number than could have been reasonably expected, the pestilence still continuing to spread over the country, so that, between the danger incurred in the places infected, and the necessary severity used in other towns to secure themselves from infection, travelling had become extremely inconvenient. The King commanded the two Houses to attend him in Christ Church hall. He acknowledged that the war, in which he had engaged by their advice, had been attended with much greater expense than he expected; and that he would not have called them together at so unseasonable a time, were it not absolutely necessary that he should have further assistance for not only carrying on that war, but defending himself against a still more powerful neighbour.

Without hesitation, Parliament voted the King a further supply of one million, to which they added forty thousand pounds for the Duke of York. They were solicitous to get through the public business as speedily as possible, being apprehensive that so great a concourse of persons from all places, and from London itself—for the term was likewise adjourned to Oxford—might bring the contagion to that city. Among the Acts which they passed was one recalling, by a certain

day, all English subjects residing in the United Provinces or in their service.

At the desire of the Duke of York, Mr. Coventry, his secretary, was appointed a privy-councillor and knighted, and soon afterwards, through the same influence, called to that committee with which the King was accustomed to consult on his most private affairs; and from this time there was a great change in the mode of conducting all kinds of business. If the Chancellor found his influence with the King greatly diminished when Sir Henry Bennet (soon afterwards created Earl of Arlington) became secretary, a far greater decrease was manifest to all after the admission of the new councillor. Arlington had not the gift of speaking, or of a quick conception, and, therefore, rarely opposed anything in council. His talent was in private, where he frequently caused very inconvenient alterations to be made in public resolutions. Sir William Coventry, between whom and Arlington there was an entire concurrence, was a man of quick parts and a ready speaker, unrestrained by any modesty or deference to age, experience, or dignity; equally censorious of measures adopted before he became a member of the council, and ready to contradict whatever was proposed afterwards. But his great ambition was to oppose whatever was recommended by the Chancellor, or the Treasurer; though all the other councillors paid them some respect, if not for their own sakes, on account of their offices. He was a declared enemy to all lawyers, and to the law itself; and anything passed under the great seal of

England was of no more authority with him than the scroll of a scrivener. Without principles either in religion or politics, he was of one mind one day and of another the next, and always very troublesome to those who were obliged to consult with him.

The King had not been many days in Oxford when news arrived of an advantage gained by the Earl of Sandwich over the Dutch fleet. After the affair of Bergen, he had been obliged by tempestuous winds to quit the coast of Norway, and to steer for that of Holland. Just at this time, De Ruyter had passed northward, proceeding to Bergen, to convoy home the Indiamen, the news of the attack by the English having excited great consternation. On account of the factious spirit prevailing at this period among the Dutch captains and officers, De Witt, the Grand Pensionary, accompanied the fleet in the ship of the Admiral, who received orders from him. Sandwich, on learning that the enemy had slipped out, hoped to intercept them on their return; but, owing to the weather, he could not engage their whole fleet as he endeavoured to do; yet he had the good fortune in two encounters to take eight of their large ships of war, two of the most valuable of their Indiamen, and about twenty of the other merchant vessels, which De Ruyter was convoying. He was then forced by tempests to steer with his prizes for English ports. Though some, and Sir William Coventry in particular, expressed great dissatisfaction that the success had not been more complete, and blamed the Earl of Sandwich for having

been too cautious of danger, both the King and the Duke of York discountenanced these reports as calumnies, and did full justice to the valour, skill, and prudence of the Admiral. But, though no just blame could attach to his conduct at sea, by an indiscreet act on coming into harbour, he afforded opportunity to his enemies to do him much prejudice.

The flag-officers, representing that they had undergone great fatigues and dangers during the summer petitioned him to grant them some compensation out of the cargoes of the captured Indiamen; though it was a known rule that in any ship taken from the enemy, bulk must not be broken till she is adjudged lawful prize. The Earl, deeming the request reasonable, addressed it to the Vice-Chamberlain to be submitted to the King; but, before his approbation arrived, he had allotted about a thousand pounds' worth of the coarser goods to each flag-officer, and taken to the amount of two thousand for himself. A great outcry was immediately raised against this proceeding, "as if all the Indian and other merchant ships had been plundered by the seamen, and they crying out, too, that all was taken from them, and given to the flag-officers."

The Duke of Albemarle, who was no friend to the Earl, represented the matter to the King in the worst possible light; the Duke of York was grievously offended because the application had not been addressed to him, as Lord High Admiral; and Sir William Coventry took great pains to incense him still more.

As soon as his presence with the fleet could be dispensed with, the Earl repaired to Oxford, where he gave so explicit an account of all his proceedings at sea, that both the King and the Duke absolved him from all imputation of neglect, or inadvertency. He frankly explained his motives for having permitted goods to be removed from the Indiamen, confessed that he had not sufficiently considered the consequences, humbly begged pardon, and declared that his own share should be restored to the ship from which it had been taken.

The King and the Duke received him very graciously, and he was sent back to the fleet to make such arrangements as were necessary for the winter. But, through the intrigues of Sir William Coventry, the Earl was soon afterwards removed from the fleet, and appointed Extraordinary-Ambassador to the Court of Spain, and Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle were invested with the chief command at sea, when the latter, with whom the Chancellor had been directed to confer on the subject, had, after some hesitation, signified his acceptance of the commission, he begged that this circumstance might remain a secret; "for, if his wife should come to know it before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him; but he would, in a short time, dispose her well enough."

Lord Clarendon enters at great length into the detail of a plan devised by Lord Arlington and Sir William Coventry for removing the Lord Treasurer

from his office, whose authority was found a great inconvenience to many, inasmuch as no money could be paid without his particular warrant. The King, he says, would often sign warrants, to get rid of importunity, in the confidence that either the Chancellor or the Treasurer would not suffer them to pass. Their interference, however, raised a great clamour against those high officers, who were accused of arrogance and presumption, for daring to control the King's bounty. It was proposed to remedy this by inserting a clause in the next Money Bill, directing the money to be paid only to those persons and for those purposes to which his Majesty should assign them. Against the time that the Bill was to be brought in, the parties with whom the project originated, prepared the House by many bitter invectives against the bankers, called them cheats, blood-suckers, extortioners, loaded them with all the reproaches that can be cast upon the vilest of mankind, and represented them as the causes of all the King's necessities, and of the want of money throughout the kingdom.

It appears that when the Solicitor-General brought the Bill for supply in due course into the House of Commons, Sir George Downing moved for the insertion of a clause making all the money to be raised by this Bill applicable only to the special purpose for which it was given, namely, to the carrying on the war. This was opposed by the Solicitor and others, as an infringement of the right of the Crown, and the clause would have been thrown out, had not Coventry and Downing

privately assured the adverse members that the clause was introduced by the King's own direction. In the afternoon, the King sent for the Solicitor, and forbade him to make further opposition to the clause, which was much for his service, and would not listen to any objections against it; but, to other members of the House, whom he thought less capable of disputing the matter with him, he communicated the plan which had been suggested to him for dispensing with the assistance of the bankers, and holding out encouragement to all capitalists to lend money to the exchequer, by making the payment with interest so certain and fixed that there could be no security in the kingdom like it. He had been taught by Downing, who had lived many years in Holland, that in this way he might make his exchequer the greatest bank in Europe; that foreigners, induced by security and profit, would send their money to be deposited there, so that it could not fail to eclipse the banks of Genoa, Venice, and even Amsterdam. Fed with this notion, he resolved to have no longer any superior officer of his treasury.

Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, found such objections to the intended measure that he inveighed bitterly against it both in public and private, representing its consequences to be so mischievous that he alarmed the King, who consented that the matter should be discussed in council in his presence. The Lord Chancellor was confined to his bed by the gout; his chamber was, therefore, thought to be the fittest place for the consultation; neither he nor the

Lord-Treasurer, who, though indisposed and apprehensive of an attack of gout, was very willing to attend his Majesty there, had received any information whatever on the subject that was to be submitted to the deliberation of the council. It was attended by the King and his brother, the Chancellor in his bed, the Lord-Treasurer, Lords Ashley and Arlington, Sir William Coventry, the Attorney and Solicitor-General; Sir George Downing was also present to answer objections.

At this singular consultation, Lord Ashley forcibly attacked the proposed plan as an innovation, fraught with injustice and ruin, as well to the bankers as to those with whose money they were enabled to supply the King's necessities; but, though it was liable to many heavy objections, which Downing could not answer, Charles persevered in his purpose of preserving the obnoxious clause. The Chancellor relates that, irritated by the insolent behaviour of Downing, and probably also by the extreme pain which he was enduring in his bed, he sharply reprehended his presumption in undertaking to set on foot such a scheme for changing the whole constitution of the Exchequer, in which he was an inferior officer. He told him that it was impossible the King could be well served while fellows of his condition had liberty to say whatever they pleased; and that, in the best times, such presumption had been punished with imprisonment by the Lords of the Council without the King's taking notice of it; and in this rebuke, though uttered with great sharpness, he conceived that

he did not exceed the privilege and dignity of the place which he held, and for which there were many precedents in past times. Though no reply was made, yet those who were as deeply engaged in the scheme as Downing, soon found an opportunity to incense the King, by representing that the behaviour of the Chancellor was a greater affront to his Majesty than to the person whom he had so bitterly reprehended.

The alteration in the government of the Treasury was expected to cause the Lord Treasurer to resign his office; but, though tired of it, he was prevailed upon by his friends not to gratify those who so ardently desired his removal, and the King conceived that it would be too ungracious an act to displace him.

The plague, though somewhat abated, at the beginning of the year 1666, was still carrying off between three and four thousand a-week, in London. In consequence of the obstructions to public business arising from the King's absence, his Majesty resolved to make a quick journey to Hampton Court, with his brother, Prince Rupert, and such of his Council and other servants as were deemed necessary, while the Queen and the Duchess of York should remain at Oxford. The mortality in the metropolis continued to decrease, owing, as it was conceived, to the weather, which was intense frost, with deep snow. In a fortnight or three weeks, when the deaths amounted to fifteen hundred in a week, Charles resolved to venture, for the quicker despatch of business, to Whitehall. At this time, the Chancellor tells us there was not in a day seen a coach

in the streets but those which came in his Majesty's train, so much were people afraid of returning to the depopulated city. But, when it was known that the King was at Whitehall, it is inconceivable what numbers flocked from all parts. The judges, who were sitting at Windsor, adjourned the last return of the term to Westminster Hall. The mortality daily decreased, and the King changed his purpose of returning to Oxford, and sent for the Queen and Court to join him.

Thus, before the end of March, the Exchange was as crowded, the streets were as full, and the people everywhere as numerous as they had ever been seen. By the weekly bills there appeared to have died above 160,000 persons, and some even computed that double the number had perished. It was known, for instance, that one week, when the bills stated the deaths at 6,000, 14,000 had actually died, the frequent and sudden decease of the clerks and sextons of parishes having prevented an exact account from being kept. The Anabaptists and other sectaries who abounded in the City, kept close in their houses, and multitudes of them perished: their deaths were not reported to the churchwardens, or other officers, and they were buried according to their fancies, in gardens or the next fields. It was chiefly women, children, and the lowest and poorest class of people whom the disease swept away; very few persons of wealth, or distinction, having fallen victims to it.

The first business which demanded the attention of

the King and those about him was the equipment of the fleet. The choice of the commanders was universally approved, Prince Rupert being greatly beloved by the seamen for his known courage; and the people in general believing that victory must be ensured by the presence of Albemarle. The latter, however, experienced great vexation from the tempestuous humour of his wife. From the moment she learned that the King had destined her husband to the command of the fleet, she was, says Clarendon, all storm and fury; and, according to the wisdom and modesty of her nature, poured a thousand full-mouthed curses against all those who had contributed to that counsel. But the malice of all that tempest fell upon the Chancellor: she declared that this was a plot of his to remove her husband from the King, that he might do what he had a mind to, and threw all the words at him which she had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good wishes of what she would have befall him. But the company she kept, and the conversation she was accustomed to, could not propagate the reproaches far; and the poor general himself felt them most, who knew the Chancellor to be his very fast and faithful friend, and that he would not be less so, because his wife was no wiser than she was born to be.

Albemarle devoted indefatigable attention to the equipment of the fleet. It was known that the Duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, had already gone to Brest, to take the command of the French fleet, consisting, according to report, of fifty ships of war. Am-

bassadors had been sent by Holland to the King of Denmark, to renew their alliance with him; and, at the same moment, an ambassador from France arrived to persuade him to an alliance with Holland, and assuring him of the protection of his master against England. The Danish King complained of the violation of the law of nations committed by the English admiral at Bergen, and denied that he had ever made such an offer, or promise, as Sir Gilbert Talbot alleged. The latter, after many indignities, left the Court, and returned to England. All English ships and subjects in the Danish ports and dominions were seized; and some, to whom the King owed large sums of money which they had lent him, were imprisoned, and their goods seized and confiscated. Provoked by these proceedings, Charles retaliated; he published a manifesto, declaring that, if he had sent his fleet to Bergen, it was on the invitation of his Danish Majesty himself; war was, of course, proclaimed, and England had to cope with two more enemies—France and Denmark.

The proclamation of the war in France, the seizure of the property of the English there, the maritime preparations, and the force sent to the assistance of the Dutch, caused the King less chagrin than a disappointment which attended this rupture. At the commencement of hostilities with the Dutch, he had received overtures from the prince-bishop of Munster, who offered, in consideration of certain subsidies, to march with an army of 20,000 men into the Dutch territory by the time that the English fleet was ready to put to

sea. France had, meanwhile, persuaded the Princes who had engaged to assist the bishop in his levies, to decline the fulfilment of their promises. The latter, nevertheless, took the field with such a force as he could collect, entered the dominions of the States; and, being feebly opposed by Prince Maurice with as many Dutch troops as could be spared, possessed himself of two or three garrisons. At this juncture, Louis XIV. imperatively demanded of the governor of the Spanish Netherlands a passage through those provinces for troops which he had occasion to send to Germany. The governor, who had secretly winked at the raising of levies for the Bishop of Munster, but who had orders from his Court to avoid giving France any pretext for a rupture, durst not refuse a passage. The French troops immediately entered Flanders, fell upon the soldiers which were being raised for the bishop, whom they dispersed or made prisoners, and joined Prince Maurice. In this predicament, the bishop, finding himself deserted by the Princes from whom he had expected succours, was obliged to submit to the dictation of France, and to sign a treaty with Louis, for which, says Clarendon, he would have been much more excusable if he had not received some of Charles's money, after he saw how the affair would terminate.

During the abode of the royal family at Oxford, there had been some hope that the Queen was in the way to become a mother; and, while that hope lasted, the King lived with more restraint and caution. Clarendon expresses a belief that, if the Queen had pro-

duced a child, Charles would have curbed his inordinate appetite, forsaken those vicious indulgences which led him into extravagant expense, and applied himself to the affairs of government. The supposed situation of the Queen was one cause of her stay at Oxford, and it was prolonged, because she miscarried just as she was about to return to London; and her medical attendants declared that she was so far advanced that the sex was distinguishable. On the other hand, some of the women, who had more credit with the King, assured him that it was only a false conception, and that she had not been *enceinte* at all; so that Charles, who had, on a former occasion erroneously believed that the Queen had really miscarried, now suffered himself to be persuaded by those ladies and other women, that she never could have a child. From that time, he took little pleasure in her society, while Lady Castlemaine, who had never declined in favour, possessed greater influence than ever. She was again *enceinte*, was shortly brought to bed of a fine boy, and was full of exultation over the Queen. She had no objection that her royal lover should entertain an amour with another lady, with whom she formed a close friendship, perhaps in the confidence that the King would not prevail with her, which many others also believed. It is certain that the King felt a stronger passion for Lady Castlemaine than he ever did for any other woman, and thus far she had never interfered in any kind of business, her chief object being to make a provision for herself and her children; but, though she had opportunities

of obtaining considerable sums out of the privy-purse, over which a Mr. May had been placed at her recommendation, these scarcely sufficed to pay the debts, to an almost inconceivable amount, which she had contracted in a few years, and to defray her current expenses, which were excessive in equipages, clothes, and jewels. It is true, indeed, that she had procured grants of several large quantities of land in Ireland, which were likely to prove valuable to herself or her children.

The two naval commanders, men of indefatigable industry, and great dexterity, used such diligence in fitting out the fleet that, about the middle of May, they sailed with it to the coast of Holland, and took many prizes. Being informed that the Dutch fleet would not be ready for sea in less than a month, they returned to the Downs, where Prince Rupert proposed to take part of the fleet, to meet the Duke of Beaufort, who was reported to be on his way from Brest to join the Dutch. The plan of Prince Rupert being approved by the King and Council, he selected twenty ships to go in quest of the French, who were far superior in number, while Albemarle, with the rest, remained in the Downs. The very day after the departure of the Prince, his colleague received certain intelligence that the Dutch were at sea. Of this circumstance he sent notice to the Duke of York, and the King ordered Sir William Coventry to despatch orders to the Prince to return. Had these orders been duly forwarded, they might have reached him before morning. Coventry, having got them signed about midnight, sent them by

his servant to Lord Arlington, whose duty he considered it to despatch a messenger with them; and his servants, not daring to disturb him, they were not transmitted till next morning, and did not reach Prince Rupert before he had tacked, on hearing the thunder of the cannon. Neither Coventry nor Arlington was called to account for this negligence.

Albemarle, on learning the approach of the Dutch, weighed anchor on the morning of the 1st of June, and soon came in sight of De Ruyter's fleet, consisting of above eighty ships. The English commander had not above fifty, but thought it neither safe nor honourable to decline the battle. It commenced about two in the afternoon, and lasted till ten. The English spent the night in repairing their masts and rigging, which it had been the particular aim of the enemy to cripple. The battle was renewed at six in the morning, and lasted till night. The ship of one of the Dutch vice-admirals, and several others, were sunk, and their courage began to flag, when sixteen fresh ships came to their aid. Night again parted the combatants. Many of the English ships were so disabled that Albemarle deemed it prudent to retire. The Dutch pursued, but it was towards evening before they came within gunshot. A squadron of about twenty sail was now descried, standing towards the English, and rightly conjectured to be Prince Rupert's. In their eagerness to join him, many of the flag-ships struck on the Galloper Sand, but with great difficulty all got off safe, excepting the Royal Prince, which for the last age had been accounted the best ship in the world. The enemy, find-

ing that they could not carry her off, made the captain, Sir George Askewe, and all the crew prisoners, and set her on fire. Prince Rupert joined Albemarle the same night. For the fourth time, the battle was renewed in the morning, and, though the English commanders had several of their best ships disabled, and two or three sunk, they burned six or seven of the Dutch, and sunk some others. In the evening, the combatants separated as by mutual consent, and the two fleets retired to their respective coasts. Many of the English ships had received so much injury that it was with the greatest difficulty they got into harbour.

Such was the alacrity used in repairing these damages, that they were again ready for sea in a fortnight, and the fleet, increased to 100 sail, assembled at the Nore. The Dutch now appeared more anxious to meet with the French than to encounter the English, and kept close to their own shore. It was the 24th of June before the enemy were descried. On the following day they were attacked with great fury. Vice-admiral Bunker's flag-ship of 60 guns, and another of 70, were taken and burned. Next morning, the English commanders would have renewed the action, but De Ruyter, from whom the squadron commanded by Van Tromp had been separated by accident or indiscretion, retreated to the Weelings, where he was safe from further pursuit.[1] The former then cruised upon the Dutch

[1] This brave man was so affected by his disappointment, that he was heard to exclaim, during his retreat, "Among so many bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life!"

coast, where they picked up many prizes of great value.

While in this position, the English commanders, by the advice of a Captain Van Heemskirk, a Dutchman, who had been obliged to quit his country to save his life, and was then on board with Prince Rupert to make an attempt on Schelling, near the Huye (probably Scheveling near the Hague), where, in a place that was land-locked and deemed perfectly secure, ships laden at Amsterdam and bound to the Mediterranean, were accustomed to lie for two or three days. The enterprize was committed to Sir Robert Holmes, a very bold and expert officer, who with a number of small vessels, well-manned, and a body of soldiers to land upon occasion, burned the town, and above 100 merchant ships, some of them worth above one hundred thousand pounds each, and two men-of-war, destined for convoys. The conflagration, being perceived at daybreak from Amsterdam, excited great alarm, as the people had no idea whence it proceeded, conceiving their ships at Schelling to be out of the reach of an enemy. This was the heaviest loss sustained by the Dutch during the war, and De Witt determined to revenge it.

In July, the King, Queen, and Court again visited Tunbridge Wells, where they passed some weeks, enjoying every amusement and recreation that could be devised. During their stay, the Queen sent for the players, which led to disgraceful intimacies between his Majesty and two of the actresses—Mrs. Davies, and the celebrated Nell Gwynne. The latter, whom Eve-

lyn designates as "an impudent comedian," was soon after elevated by the gay monarch to the post of one of the bedchamber-women to the Queen.

About the middle of August, the fleet returned to Southwold Bay, leaving a squadron of observation on the coast of Holland; and, on the 28th, having received intelligence that De Ruyter was at sea, with about eighty sail; and, judging from his course, that he purposed to join the French fleet, which was still expected, the English commanders sailed to intercept him. Owing to the tempestuous weather, they found it impossible to bring the enemy to action. The Dutch finally took refuge in the Bay of Etaples, on the French coast, and the English fleet made for St. Helen's. The Duke of Beaufort was actually on his way to join the Dutch, when he was informed of the position of the English, and ran into the road off Dieppe; but his Vice-Admiral, in a ship of 70 guns, pursuing the course which he had been directed, found himself at night among the English ships, to which, after a show of defence, he surrendered. The storm, which continued for many days, prevented any further engagement with the Dutch.

London, at this period, seemed a doomed city—as if the sword of the destroying angel was suspended over it. During the past year, the Plague had desolated the homes of the inhabitants; and, in many instances, had swept away entire families, sparing neither sex nor age. Death had indeed reigned triumphant everywhere. Another fearful calamity, such as had never yet befallen

the British metropolis, now occurred to dismay the hearts of the citizens. We allude to the Great Fire, which broke out early on Sunday morning, the 2nd of September. It commenced in the King's baker's shop in Pudding Lane, at the corner of Thames Street. The house was full of faggots at the time, and the numerous wooden buildings contiguous to it were filled with pitch, tar, oakum, and other combustibles. No efforts appear to have been made for some time to check the progress of the flames.

The interior of the churches presented a curious and unusual spectacle on the Sabbath-day. No pastor was to be seen in the pulpit; and, in lieu of the congregation, a miscellaneous collection of goods and household furniture might be seen flung confusedly together, brought out of the burning houses. The streets were thronged with persons hurrying to and fro, looking aghast at the appalling scene that presented itself on all sides; some carrying their goods on their backs, others bearing away the sick on beds; while a multitude of carts and other vehicles, laden with goods and chattels, struggled to make their way through the blocked-up thoroughfares, either to the sacred edifices, or to the open fields in the vicinity. Night came, but it brought not darkness with it, the streets and the heavens being lit up by the far-spreading conflagration. The meadows nearest to the metropolis exhibited a strange and singular aspect. In these, groups of persons were collected around their property saved from the flames, anxious to protect it from depredation; and

who, though now houseless, and having to deplore a stoppage to their business, by which their means of life were thus for the present cut off, nevertheless had great reason to be thankful to divine Providence, for having preserved their lives from the awful peril that had threatened them.

Myriads of sparks, impelled by the wind, in their descent set fire to other houses, which were mostly wooden buildings, and showers were borne across the Thames, which was brilliantly lit up to a considerable distance. Its banks were lined with people—now casting their eyes on the blazing city—and now on the numerous lighters conveying furniture to some place of safety. Boats filled with persons, anxious to witness the grand but terrible scene from the water, passed up and down the river during the night; while tables, chairs, and other articles, rudely jostled against each other, and were borne along by the tide.

That curious and intelligent observer of passing events, Samuel Pepys, who was in one of these boats, says, "When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little ale-house on the Bankside, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow, and, as it grew darker, appeared more and more, and in corners, and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the city, in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the flame of an ordinary fire. We saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side of the Bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of

above a mile long; it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine."[1]

No sooner did the King perceive the extent of the calamity which had befallen his city, than he sent his commands to Sir Thomas Bludworth, the Lord-Mayor, to pull down houses, so as to arrest the ravages of the flames, "I met him," says Pepys, "in Canning Street,[2] like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried like a fainting woman, 'Lord, what can I do?—I am spent—people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses, but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it.' He added, that he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, "he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night."

Evelyn also thus vividly describes the Great Fire: "The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished that, from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, and running about like distracted creatures. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen for above forty miles round, for many nights. God grant that mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame! The noise and

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iii. p. 23.
[2] Now, Cannon Street.

cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of the women and children, the hurry of the people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches was like a hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that, at the last, one was not able to approach it. The fire raged for four days, and all that time the King and the Duke of York exerted themselves in the most energetic manner, even labouring in person, and being present to command order, reward, and encourage the workmen. It was through the personal activity and presence of mind of the Duke of York, in causing the houses to be blown up, that the beautiful old Temple church was saved, and the fire stopped."[1]

It was only through the wise precautions and energy of his Majesty that the Tower and Westminster Abbey were preserved from destruction. But it was not till the 7th of the month that the flames were extinguished. The fire destroyed St. Paul's cathedral, the Exchange, the Post Office, and above two-thirds of the houses, churches, and principal buildings.[2] The rent of the houses consumed in the city was computed at £600,000 per annum.[3] A great quantity of books also fell a sacrifice to the flames, which occasioned the ruin of the leading booksellers.

The King lost no time in providing a temporary shelter for his houseless subjects by causing tents

[1] Evelyn, Pepys, Clarendon.

[2] Hume states that about 400 streets, and 13,000 houses, were reduced to ashes.

[3] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iii.

and huts to be erected in the fields, suburbs, and places where they had taken refuge. They were also furnished with bread and coals at the government expense. Charles also freely administered to the relief of the sufferers from the Plague, by devoting £1,000 per week out of the privy-purse, and this at a time when he was so much in want of money to meet his own extravagant expenditure. He likewise manifested great leniency in regard to the collection of supplies voted by Parliament during these two seasons of fearful calamity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the moneys collected by the government were found totally inadequate to carry on the great business of the nation. Hence the want of funds to pay the seamen, who refused to serve on board the ships unless they received the arrears due to them. This eventually led to the laying up of the fleet, a most fatal and impolitic measure, and contrary to the advice of the Duke of York, who told his royal brother he would thereby incur the danger of losing the sovereignty of the seas, a prediction borne out by the disastrous attack of the Dutch on our ships at Chatham in the following year.

On the 13th of September, Evelyn laid before the King a survey of the ruins of London, and a plan for building a new city, with which we are told he was extremely pleased, as well as the Queen and the Duke of York.

On the 21st of the same month, the Parliament met, and voted the King £1,800,000. Much discussion took place as to the cause of the fire, which ru-

mour variously assigned to the Republicans and the Catholics; but, after the most rigid inquiry, no proof could be adduced to fix guilt upon any party. So many wooden buildings crowded together, many of which were filled with combustibles, the narrow streets, and the violent east wind which prevailed at the time, being amply sufficient to account for the destruction that ensued. A new city, however, arose — like another phœnix from its ashes—in the course of the next few years, presenting a remarkable contrast to the old one. Spacious streets and substantial habitations took the place of their wretched and inconvenient predecessors. Thus, much was done at this period towards the present vastly improved condition of our great and glorious metropolis.

CHAPTER X.

Desolate state of the Metropolis after the Great Fire.—Sad condition of public affairs.—Dissolute companions of his Majesty.—His passion for Frances Stuart.—Her marriage to her cousin, the Duke of Richmond.—Rage of the King.—Quarrels of the Duke of Buckingham.—His challenge from Lord Ossory.—His fracas with the Marquis of Dorchester.—Frigates fitted out.—Policy of Louis XIV.—Continued Disputes with the Dutch.—Anecdotes of the King.—The Dutch fleet sail up the Thames, and destroy ships before Chatham.—Consternation of the people.—Ratification of the treaty of Breda.—Buckingham in disgrace with the King.—He becomes a prisoner in the Tower.—His restoration to favour.—Violent conduct of Lady Castlemaine.—Charles implores her forgiveness.—A royal carouse.—Death of Lady Clarendon.—Charges preferred against the Chancellor.—Malignity of his enemies.—He proceeds to France.—His petition to the House of Peers.—His fall and banishment.

THE new year, 1667, brought along with it no season of joy for many thousands of persons, many of whom had been bereft of those near and dear to them by the Great Plague; others had not

only been deprived of their dwellings, but lost all they possessed in the late fire; while a vast number had suffered from both these visitations. Gloom and anxiety were depicted in the faces of the Londoners. The passenger, as he wended his way along the streets, beheld only one continuous scene of desolation. No gaily decked-out shops, with their busy occupants, attracted his notice; while the sun shone, as if in mockery or triumph, over the still smouldering ruins of the destroyed city.

The aspect of public affairs was not less gloomy and unpromising. England was still at war with Holland; and, for want of funds, government was unable to man the Navy. Her ships, therefore, rode like useless hulks upon the waters, the seamen having revolted, from their just claims remaining unpaid. In addition to these untoward circumstances, France had declared war against this country. The enemies of England were not slow to perceive this sad state of things, and they soon hastened to take advantage of it, knowing full well that she was not in a condition either to cope with them at sea or to defend her own coasts from invasion.

It was hoped that the prodigious calamity which had occurred would have produced some reformation in the license of the Court. The pains which the King had taken night and day, during the fire, and the dangers to which he had exposed himself for the purpose of saving the goods of the citizens, had been very notorious, and obtained him their prayers and good

wishes; and, during that time, he had been heard to speak with great piety of the displeasure to which God was provoked. But he was not long suffered to harbour these serious thoughts. Even before the fire was extinguished, the loose companions whose society was too much cherished, made it a subject for mirth and wit, in which the Scripture itself was freely used, when they could apply it to their purpose. Thus, Mr. May presumed to assure the King that the fire was the greatest blessing, his Restoration only excepted, that God had ever bestowed on him; for the walls and gates of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the Crown, being now consumed, his Majesty would never suffer them to be rebuilt, to be a bit in his mouth, and a bridle on his neck, but would keep all open, that his troops might enter whenever he thought it necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force.

This kind of discourse did not please Charles, but was highly approved by the company, and repeated everywhere to the prejudice of the King, from whom it estranged the affections of the citizens and the people in general, who took the same liberty to publish the profaneness and atheism of the Court; and, as nothing was done there in private, so it was made more public by pasquinades and libels, full of reflections of the broadest kind upon the King himself, and upon those in whose society he most delighted.

It was an avowed doctrine, and with great address, daily instilled into his Majesty, that kings have many

liberties which private persons have not; and that a lady of honour who dedicates herself only to please a king, and continues faithful to him, ought not to be branded with any name or mark of infamy, but has always been regarded as worthy of respect by all well-bred persons; and, to this end, he was carefully reminded of all the amours of his grandfather, (Henry IV.), and of the indignation which he manifested at the least disrespect towards any of his mistresses.

The King was now sad and dejected. He was desperately in love with his wife's maid of honour, the beautiful Frances Stuart, to the great mortification of the Queen. It was generally believed that he entertained thoughts of marrying his fascinating kinswoman; and, to render himself free to do so, he meditated getting divorced from Queen Catherine, on the plea of her incapability to bring him an heir to the throne. The Earl of Bristol, at this period, took upon himself to send two friars to Portugal, to endeavour to collect evidence of this. But the King ignored the supposition, observing, "that it was impossible to proceed on those grounds, as, to his certain knowledge, her Majesty had more than once been in a way to be a mother."[1]

The enemies of Lord Clarendon were more than ever inveterate against him, on account of the part he had taken in promoting the Queen's marriage, and did all they could to traduce him, as well as his royal mistress, and the more particularly, since his son, Lord

[1] Clarendon.

Cornbury, had been appointed her Lord Chamberlain. About this time, the fair Stuart was anxious to withdraw from Court, finding the King's growing attachment towards her; and, feeling convinced of its impropriety, she accordingly declared that she was ready to marry any honourable gentleman, worth £1,500 per year; upon which, her cousin, Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, sought the honour of her hand, at which the King expressed himself in the most indignant terms.

Count Hamilton says that she now implored the Queen's protection, asking her forgiveness for any thoughtless conduct which might have caused her uneasiness. It is conjectured that Catharine was favourable to the alliance of this young beauty, and assisted her to bring it about. From this moment, the King conceived the most vindictive hatred towards Clarendon, throwing the whole blame of the affair upon him, notwithstanding his protestations that he had no hand in it.

Shortly after this, the marriage of Miss Stuart and the Duke of Richmond was solemnized, upon which she returned to the King some jewels with which he had presented her.[1] Even after her union, the King persisted in visiting the Duchess of Richmond, who then resided with the Duke at Somerset House. "Pierce tells me,"

[1] Her husband, who was addicted to intemperate habits, died in 1672, while ambassador at the Court of Denmark. Two years after her union, she was attacked by the small-pox, which greatly disfigured her beauty. She died in 1702, and her wax statue may be seen in Westminster Abbey.

says Pepys, "that the King is mighty hot upon the Duchess of Richmond, insomuch that, upon Sunday was se'nnight, at night, after he had his guard and coach to be ready to carry him to the Park, he did on a sudden take a pair of oars, or scullers; and, all alone, or but one with him, go to Somerset House, and there, the garden-door not being open, himself clamber over the wall to make a visit to her, which is a horrid shame."[1] We are not informed what reception his Majesty met with on this occasion.

During this session of Parliament, the Duke of Buckingham rendered himself conspicuous on two occasions, neither of which reflected any honour on his singular and wayward character. Regarded as the leader of the discontented Peers, he had lately taken great pains to conciliate the principal opposition members of the Commons, invited them to his table, affected a high esteem for their abilities, lamented the King's neglect of business, and committing it to incompetent persons, and then drew a lively picture of the licentiousness and debauchery of the Court, which he was well qualified to do, having been a frequent witness of them. He had had a mortal quarrel with the ruling favourite, and was at this time so much out of the King's favour, as he was very frequently, that he ceased to go to Court, and revenged himself upon it by telling all the merry tales he knew of what was done there. Considering the loose life he led, "which," says Clarendon, "was a life

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iv. p. 111.

by night more than by day, in all the liberties that nature could desire and wit invent, it was astonishing how extensive an influence he had in both Houses of Parliament. His rank and condescension, the pleasantness of his humour and conversation, and the extravagance and keenness of his wit, unrestrained by modesty or religion, caused persons of all opinions and dispositions to be fond of his company, and to imagine that these levities and vanities would wear off with age, and that there would be enough of good left to make him useful to his country, for which he pretended a wonderful affection."

Buckingham cherished a cordial hatred of the Duke of Ormond. His equal in title, and superior in credit with the King, he considered the constant attendance of this nobleman on his Majesty through all the vicissitudes of his fortune as a reproach to himself. The younger son of the Duke of Ormond had married his niece, who was the heir-apparent to his house, and he had given his consent to the match, when he saw that he could not prevent it; but this alliance produced no change in his sentiments towards Ormond; and all the good offices which the latter endeavoured to do him with the King were rendered nugatory by some new extravagance of his own.

A Bill had been introdueed into Parliament for preventing the importation of Irish cattle, which were brought over in such quantities as to injure the cattle-breeders in England. When this Bill was presented to the Lords, the Duke of Buckingham manifested extraor-

dinary solicitude in its favour. While it was under discussion, instead of not coming to the House, or, when he did so, of seldom staying longer than a quarter of an hour, he was now present with the first in the morning, and remained till the last; for the debate frequently continued from morning till four in the afternoon, and sometimes till candles were brought in. It was evident that there were other than public motives for the earnest prosecution of this measure; and Lord Ashley, perhaps, furnished a key to the explanation of them, when he observed that, if the Bill did not pass, all the rents in Ireland would rise in a vast proportion, and those in England fall as much; so that, in a year or two, the Duke of Ormond would have a larger revenue than the Earl of Northumberand.

One day, during the debate, the Duke of Buckingham said that whoever was against the Bill had either an "Irish interest, or an Irish understanding." This expression offended Lord Ossory, eldest son of the Duke of Ormond, who had lately very narrowly escaped the censure of the House for reproaching Ashley for having been a privy-councillor of Cromwell's; he would, therefore, not trust himself to give an immediate answer. When the House broke up, he begged the Duke to step into a room with him, and there told him that he had taken the liberty to use many loose and unworthy expressions which reflected on the whole Irish nation; and which he himself resented so much that he expected satisfaction, and to meet him with his sword in his

hand. The Duke endeavoured to evade the challenge; but Ossory, whose courage was undoubted, was so urgent, that he could not help appointing a place for an immediate meeting, which his antagonist insisted upon, to prevent discovery; and, for this reason, too, he had chosen to settle the matter himself, instead of sending a message. The Duke, therefore, mentioned a well-known place in Chelsea-fields, where they agreed to meet in less than an hour. Ossory hastened to the spot, and waited considerably beyond the time: then, perceiving persons coming out of the way towards him, and concluding that they were sent out to prevent a combat, he proceeded to the place where he had left his horse, and returned to London.

Next morning, as soon as the House of Lords assembled, Buckingham entered into a long detail of this affair, representing that the challenge was given on account of words spoken in that House, boasted of his readiness to meet any man who wished to fight him, though he did not hold himself obliged to do so in support of anything he had said or done in Parliament; and enlarged upon this subject with no little vanity, as if duelling were his daily passion and exercise. He accounted for having missed his adversary, by saying that he appointed Chelsea-fields, which he understood to be the field opposite to Chelsea; so, crossing the water with a pair of oars, he waited there for Lord Ossory, till certain gentlemen, whom he named, came to him and said they were sent to prevent the meeting, and that others were gone for the like purpose

to find his Lordship. The House was filled with astonishment at this address, in which the Duke magnified his courage and readiness to fight on any occasion—when it was manifest that he had employed an artful *ruse* to avoid the meeting.

Lord Ossory, chagrined that the contest was likely to be confined to that place, merely denied that he had challenged the Duke for words spoken in the House. He declared that, when the latter insisted on his privilege of Parliament to decline giving satisfaction, he had expressly told him that it was not for words spoken in that House, but in other places, and for affronts, which he had chosen to bear at the time, rather than disturb the company. He acknowledged that he had attended at the place where the Duke promised to meet him, and mentioned some expressions which he had used in designating it, and which put his meaning beyond doubt.

After both had given such explanations as they thought fit, they were ordered to withdraw, while the House took the matter into consideration. In the debate which ensued, some of the Lords, out of kindness to the Duke, were of opinion that he ought not to undergo the same punishment as the challenger. Hereupon, others, who were known not to be his friends, moved that he should receive no punishment at all, because he had committed no fault; for it was very evident that he never intended to fight, having, when no other tergiversation would serve his turn, prudently mistaken the place that was appointed by himself.

This exemption was pressed by two or three Lords in such a pleasant manner, with reflections upon expressions used by himself, that his better friends thought it more [redacted] for his honour to undergo the censure of the House than the penalty of such a vindication. The upshot was, that both were sent to the Tower.

No sooner were these two Lords at liberty, and their displeasure towards each other silenced by the King's command, than Buckingham was involved in another ridiculous affair. In the debate of the same Irish Bill, a conference was appointed with the House of Commons, in which the Duke was a manager. As they were sitting in the Painted Chamber, where the best order was seldom observed, it chanced that the Marquis of Dorchester sate next to Buckingham. These noblemen were not on good terms. One of them, changing his posture for his own ease, incommoded the other. At first, they endeavoured by jostling, to recover the advantage they had lost, and presently fell to blows, by which the Marquis, who was the lower of the two in stature, and less active in his limbs, lost his perriwig, and received some rudeness which none imputed to his want of courage. He had, however, some of the Duke's hair in his hands to compensate for the pulling off his wig, which he could not retaliate upon his antagonist, being too short to reach high enough. This unprecedented misdemeanour could not be concealed. As soon as the conference was over, both parties were heard, and confessed enough to sub-

ject them to the censure of the House. They were sent to the Tower, but released in a few days.

As the Commons would not proceed to the debate of any subject concerning money till the Irish Bill had passed, the King, as soon as that Bill was presented to him, went, on the 18th of January, to the House of Peers, where he commanded the attendance of the Commons, and gave his assent to it. He said that he had hoped to have passed other Bills by this time; reminded them of their declaration respecting a supply at the commencement of the session, and of the urgent necessity there was to fulfil their promise. A Bill of supply was accordingly prepared, though not equal in amount to the King's expectations, and clogged with the same inconvenient clauses that had been so unwarily admitted at Oxford, and rendered the grant inapplicable to the procuring of ready money. Before Parliament broke up, he appointed a commission, as he had promised to do, for the examination of the public accounts, which was to meet soon after Easter, for the despatch of business.

Charles was reduced to such straits for money, that he despaired of being able this year to equip a fleet of sufficient force to meet the Dutch. It was therefore resolved to fit out two squadrons of frigates; one to cruise to the east of Scotland, the other between the English coast and Holland, and to intercept the enemy's merchant-ships. The best protection which could be devised for British commerce by sea, was to prohibit it altogether. Having thus determined to confine him-

self to the defensive, the King set about the execution of a design which he had long entertained—the erection of a fort at Sheerness, for the security of the river. To this end, he took a journey thither himself in the depth of winter, accompanied by an engineer and some officers of the ordnance. Having seen the work commenced, he entrusted the supervision of the whole to one of the commissioners of the ordnance, and returned to London.

Meanwhile, the death of the King of Spain seemed to produce in Louis XIV. a still stronger indisposition to enter heartily into the war than he had yet manifested. The fact was, that he had secretly hoped, upon that event, which had long been expected, to possess himself of the Spanish Notherlands; but it was certain that the Dutch would not quietly suffer the execution of such a design. He now began to manifest a conciliatory disposition towards England. The Queen-Mother was then residing in Paris, and the Earl of St. Albans, to whom she was privately married, came to London about the time the Parliament was prorogued, as if upon the Queen's business, and intimated to the King that he was confident, if his Majesty would make any advances, his mother would be able to dispose Louis to be a mediator between him and Holland. The King, though resolved never to make the French King arbitrator in his quarrel, or to suffer negociations for peace to be carried on in Paris, and still less to give authority to treat to the Earl of St. Albans, who, he used to say, was more a Frenchman than an English-

man, entered, through him, upon preliminaries with the French cabinet and the Dutch ambassador in Paris. It was fully expected that these would have led to a treaty. As soon as the ambassadors should meet, those of France were to propose a cessation of hostilities; and Louis promised, on his part, that his fleet should not stir out of port: but the Dutch showed no disposition to follow his example.

The general principle adopted for the pacification was, that the belligerents should remain in the same state in which they stood at that moment; but the French ministers had overlooked the circumstance that there had been a bone of contention between them, long before the present war. This was the little island of Poleroon, in the East Indies, which Cromwell had obliged the Dutch, by his treaty with them, to cede to England, but which, after his death, they had refused to deliver. This island had originally belonged to the English East India Company, who had been dispossessed of it by the Dutch, in their eagerness to secure, by any means, the exclusive monopoly of the spice-trade; for, though in other respects of little value, it derived from the growth of nutmegs, its only produce, considerable commercial importance. Charles deemed it incompatible with his honour to forego his claim to this island, and the Dutch were equally bent on retaining it. When they had engaged to give it up to Cromwell, the Dutch government had sent an order to cut down all the trees; that order, if the obstinacy of the latter could be conquered, would no doubt be repeated, so that seven

years must elapse before any produce could be expected. It was, moreover, so far from any English settlements, and so near to those of the Dutch, that it would be easy for them to recover it whenever they pleased. On these considerations, the King was disposed to accept a sum of money, or some other compensation, on behalf of the East India Company, in lieu of the island; indeed, he desired the Company to appoint commissioners to go over with the ambassadors, in order to attend to their interest on this particular point. But, before any meeting could take place, the Dutch commissioners sufficiently betrayed the indisposition of Holland to peace, by rejecting the proposal of the French ambassadors for a cessation of hostilities, and by refusing to deliver Poleroon, or to make any pecuniary or other compensation. The fact was, that De Witt had vowed to revenge the affront and injury which Holland had sustained from the English fleet in the preceding year, by some signal act of retaliation.

Charles was good-humoured and familiar in conversation. He was also an indefatigable pedestrian. Burnet says he walked so fast that it was a trouble to keep up with him. Once, when Prince George of Denmark, who had married his niece, afterwards Queen Anne, complained that he was growing fat, Charles observed, "Walk with me, hunt with my brother, and do justice to my niece, and you will not long be distressed by growing fat."[1]

He was accustomed to feed the numerous birds in

[1] Anthony Wood's Life of himself, p. 323.

St. James's Park with his own hand. One day, as he was proceeding up Constitution Hill, accompanied by the Duke of Leeds and Lord Cromarty, he was met by the Duke of York, who had been hunting on Hounslow Heath, and was returning in his coach. James immediately alighted, and expressed his concern at seeing his Majesty with so small an attendance, and his fear that his life might be in danger. "No kind of danger, James," rejoined the King, jocularly; "I am sure no man in England will take away *my* life to make *you* King."[1]

Charles was in the habit of discoursing familiarly with his subjects. One morning, his barber, while shaving him, remarked, "I consider that none of your Majesty's officers have a greater trust than I." "How so, friend?" inquired the King. "Why," replied the man, "I could cut your Majesty's throat whenever I liked." Startled at the observation, and using his favourite expression, "Odds fish!" exclaimed Charles, "the very thought is treason; you shall shave me no more."[2]

The merry monarch was fond of taking out a number of small spaniels in his walks, and even allowed them to litter in his own apartment, which, remarks Evelyn, "did not render the room more savoury." Of these animals he was particularly fond; and, having lost one, offered a reward for its recovery, in an advertisment[3] which ran as follows:

[1] Dr. King's Memoirs of His Own Time.
[2] Richard Souciana.
[3] It appeared in the London Gazette of March 12th. 1667.

"Lost, out of the Mews, on the 6th of this present month, a little brindled greyhound bitch, belonging to his Majesty. If any one has taken her up, they are desired to bring her to the Porter's Gate, at Whitehall, and they shall have very good content for their pains."

On the 17th of May, a reward was offered for "a white hound bitch of his Majesty's, with a reddish head, and red upon the buttocks, some black spots upon the body, and a nick in the right lip."

De Ruyter, leaving the Texel with his fleet, steered with a fair wind for the Thames. Such was the alarm in Kent that the inhabitants on the coast quitted their houses, and fled into the country. In the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Winchelsea, who was ambassador at Constantinople, the King sent General Middleton, with directions to collect the train-bands, and all the forces he could assemble, for the defence of the ships and dock-yard at Chatham. So little progress had been made in the fortifications at Sheerness, that the Dutch with their guns beat down the works, drove off one or two companies of soldiers who had occupied them, and, landing, seemed resolved to fortify and keep the place. The King, knowing its importance, took immediate steps for its recovery. He sent Albemarle, with such troops as could be drawn from the metropolis and its vicinity, to secure Chatham. Here he found Middleton in such an attitude that he had no apprehension of any attempt that the enemy might make on land; and he had a strong chain put up across the river, to prevent their advance.

The Dutch ships, as soon as the tide was favourable, stood full up the river, dashing against the chain and breaking it in pieces. "All men," says Clarendon, "were so confounded at seeing the Dutch fleet advance over the chain, which they looked upon as a wall of brass, that they knew not what they were to do." Albemarle himself, though inaccessible to fear, was perplexed how to act. There were two or three ships of the royal Navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the river, though they might easily have been removed into a place of safety, as they could not be of any use whatever where they then lay. Albemarle, accompanied by two or three hundred young noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, armed only with pikes, went on board one of these ships; and the whole of them must have been sacrificed, had not a friend represented the certain destruction in which he must involve himself and his gallant companions, and to no purpose, as the whole fleet of the enemy was approaching as fast as the tide would enable it. The Duke and his followers accordingly went on shore again; and those ships, together with some merchantmen, laden and ready to put to sea, were set on fire, and burned on the 10th of June.

The naval officers at Chatham, who had had time to secure those ships, were in distraction. They had employed all the boats and lighter vessels, that might have towed them up, in carrying away all their own household goods and other effects, and gave up what they left behind for lost; so that, if the Dutch had followed up their advantage, they might, doubtless, have burned

all the ships of the royal Navy at Chatham, and taken or destroyed all those which lay higher up the river, and thus fully revenged themselves for the loss which they had sustained at the Vlie. Conceiving they had done enough, they availed themselves of the ebb to carry them back again.

In London, this daring attempt filled Court and city with inexpressible consternation. It could not have been greater if the Dutch had not only been masters of the river, but also landed an army of 100,000 men. "They who remember that conjuncture, and were then present in the galleries and privy-lodgings at Whitehall, whither all the world flocked with equal liberty, can easily call to mind many instances of such wild despair, and even ridiculous apprehension, that I am willing to forget." There were some who would fain have persuaded the King and the Duke of York to leave the metropolis, if they had not been restrained by the personal composure of the royal brothers; nay, there was a lord, who wished to be thought one of the greatest soldiers in Europe, to whom the custody of the Tower was committed, and who, having lodged there only one night, declared that it was not tenable, and desired not to be charged with it; and thereupon many, who had carried their money and goods thither, removed them, that they might be further from the river.

Neither did this apprehension abate, when it was known that the enemy had withdrawn their men from Sheerness, and left the Thames, because they were still on the coasts of Essex and Suffolk, and threatening

Harwich. The train-bands of those counties were in consequence collected, and the Duke of York went to take the command of them, if there should be occasion.

This annoyance of the Dutch furnished sufficient proof of the necessity of increasing the land forces for the defence of the coasts, and providing for the payment of the train-bands who were on active duty. The King had no money for these purposes; and it now became a question whether he should summon Parliament to meet on an earlier day than that to which it was prorogued, or dissolve it, and call a new one. The former expedient the Chancellor considered illegal; the latter was rejected as too tardy; and, in the end, a Proclamation was issued, summoning all members of Parliament to meet upon a day specified in the beginning of August, to consult upon the affairs of the nation.

The King of France was highly offended at the hostile proceedings of the Dutch, after the negociations for peace had been opened at Breda, being solicitous that it should be concluded before his purposed expedition against Flanders. Weary, however, of the delays occasioned by the Dutch, he marched an army into the heart of the Spanish provinces. Holland was still inflexible on the subject of Poleroon. The King, therefore, having consulted the East India Company, who willingly relinquished their claim, ordered his ambassador to give up that point, and to sign the treaty, which was done accordingly on the 10th of July, before the day on which the Parliament was to meet by Proclamation. But, as the King had now no need of

troops, he went to the House and told them that, as things had materially changed, and doubts were entertained of the regularity of their meeting, he should dismiss them till the 20th of October, the day to which they were prorogued.

About this time, the Duke of Buckingham, who had been the original cause of all the ill humour shown in both Houses of Parliament during the late session, and had gone into the country without taking leave of the King, furnished abundant ground for suspicion not only of his respect and affection, but even of his fidelity to his Majesty. He spoke with greater license of the Court and government, and of the person of the King, than any other man presumed to do; and kept up correspondence with the notoriously disaffected, having made himself very popular among the Levellers and other clamourers for liberty of conscience, for which he pretended to feel extraordinary concern. The King and Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, had intelligence of his proceedings. His steward, named Braithwayte, who had been a great favourite of Cromwell's, and one of his council of state, was a man of abilities, and believed to have a greater influence with the discontented party than any other person in the city. He had been introduced by the Duke to the King, and now came to his Majesty, and told him that his lord was much altered; that he had made acquaintance and associated with persons of mean condition and desperate intentions, whom he used to meet at unseasonable hours and in obscure places; and that he frequently received let-

ters from them. Hence, he apprehended that the Duke might be engaged in some improper design; and for these and other reasons, and on account of the irregular course of his life, he had determined to withdraw from his service, hoping that, whatever extravagances the Duke should commit, his Majesty would retain a good opinion of him, who would never swerve from his duty.

Lord Arlington soon afterwards learned that there was a poor fellow, who had a still poorer lodging about Tower Hill, and professed skill in horoscopes, to whom the Duke often repaired, in disguise, in the night. Arlington caused the man to be apprehended, and his person and lodging being searched, there were found several letters to the Duke of Buckingham, one or two in his pocket sealed and not yet sent, the others copies, and one original letter from the Duke to him, containing many unusual expressions, capable of a very ill interpretation. This man, and some others, were sent close prisoners to the Tower, where they were examined, and confronted with the witnesses, who justified their accusations. These examinations, and depositions, together with the letters, the King showed to the Chancellor, and asked in what way he was to proceed against the Duke. The letter from the Duke, he said, he knew to be every word in his own hand; those from his correspondent gave him the style of prince, mentioned what great things his stars promised to him, and declared that he was the darling of the people, who had set all their hopes and affections upon his highness, with many other foolish and some fustian expressions.

The Chancellor, in answer to the King's inquiry, said that the Duke must first be apprehended; and, after he was examined, his Majesty would be better able to judge how to proceed.

Charles, having accurate information of the movements of Buckingham, who was now in the country, despatched a sergeant-at-arms, with a warrant for his apprehension; and, though the officer found where he was, and even saw him alight from a coach, and, with a lady, enter the court of a house of the Earl of Exeter's, he was assured that the Duke was not there, and so terrified with the threats which were used, that he returned to the Court, and gave the secretary a relation in writing of all the affronts that he had received.

The King was so offended at this conduct of the Duke's, that he declared in council that he was no longer a member of that board, or a gentleman of his bedchamber, to which office he appointed the Earl of Rochester in his stead. His Majesty also revoked his commission of lord-lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, which he conferred on the Earl of Burlington. At the same time, by the advice of the Council, a Proclamation was issued for the Duke's apprehension, and prohibiting all persons from receiving or concealing him.

Buckingham now repaired to London, where he conceived that he should be less liable to discovery, and had many lodgings in several quarters of the city; and, though his Majesty had frequent intelligence where he was, yet he contrived to baffle all the endeavours of

the sergeant-at-arms and others employed to apprehend him. "In this manner he continued, sleeping all the day, and walking from place to place in the night, for the space of some months. Weary at length, of this vagabond life, he one night sent Mr. Clifford, his secretary, to the Chancellor, asking his advice, and begging permission to call upon him in the evening." The Chancellor declined conferring with him, and advised him to surrender himself to the lieutenant of the Tower, and then petition the King that he might be heard.

With this advice the Duke finally complied, after striving in vain to gain admittance first to the King, who, to the astonishment of all, now seemed inclined to desist from further prosecution. At last, it was resolved that the lieutenant of the Tower should bring his prisoner to the Council-Chamber, where his Majesty was present. The Attorney and Solicitor-General opened the charge and read all the examinations and the letters which had passed between him and the astrologer. The Duke acknowledged that he knew the man well, and used to make himself merry with him, but denied that he had ever written to him. The King and Lord Arlington were both perfectly acquainted with his hand, and had no doubt that one of them was of his writing; but, when it was shown to the Duke, he declared that it was not his, but his sister's, the Duchess of Richmond, with whom, he said, it was well known that he had no correspondence. The King frankly acknowledged his mistake, and admitted that

it was the Duchess's hand. The Duke denied most of the particulars contained in the examinations, as well as the receipt of the letters, of which copies had been found; but confessed that the man came often to him, pretended skill in horoscopes, and more in distillation, in which the Duke delighted, and exercised himself; but that he looked upon the fellow as crack-brained, and fit only to be laughed at. The King was so vexed at this mistake, that he ordered the Duke to be set at liberty.

Just before this, a quarrel occurred between Lady Castlemaine and the King, on account of the Duke of Buckingham, who was one of her creatures, being held prisoner in the Tower, when she used such strong language, that the King, irritated by her insolence, told her, that "she was a jade, that meddled with things she had nothing to do with." To this, the lady retorted by calling him a fool, adding, "that if he were not a fool, he would not suffer his business to be carried on by fools, that did not understand it, and cause his best subjects, and those best able to serve him, to be imprisoned."

Some idea may be formed of the violent conduct of this imperious woman, and her power over the King, from the following anecdote. "Fenn tells me," says Pepys, under date of the 27th of July, "that the King and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke off, and she is gone away." The favourite was again about to become a mother, and swore that she would "have the child christened in the chapel at Whitehall, and owned

for the King's, as other Kings have done; or, she will bring it into Whitehall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the King's face. He tells me that the King and Court were never so bad as they are now, for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world, so that all must come to nought."[1]

It appears that the threats of the passionate beauty intimidated the King; for, a few days after this, we are told, "Though the King and my Lady Castlemaine are friends again, she is not at Whitehall, but at Sir D. Harvy's, whither the King goes to see her; and she made him ask her forgiveness on his knees, and promise to offend her no more; and indeed she did threaten to bring all his bastards to his closet-door, and hath nearly hectored him out of his wits."[2]

In September, the King, the Duke of York, and some of the courtiers, went hunting at Bagshot. "Sir H. Cholmly told me," relates Pepys, "how merry they were. They came to Sir G. Carteret at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and all made drunk, when Armerer did come to the King, 'Sir,' says he, 'you are not so kind to the Duke of York of late, as you used to be.' 'Not I,' says the King, 'why so?'—'Why,' says he, 'if you are, let us drink his health.' 'Why, let us,' says the King. Then he [Armerer] fell on his knees, and drank it; and having done, the King began to drink it. 'Nay sir,' says Armerer, 'by G——, you must do it on your knees!' so he did, and then all the

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iii. p. 303. [2] Ibid. p. 321.

company; and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, being all maudlin, and kissing one another—the King the Duke of York, and the Duke of York the King; and in such a maudlin pickle, such as never people were, and so passed the day."[1]

On coming to his sober senses on the morrow, after his drunken revels, the merry monarch seems to have been ashamed of the contemptible figure he must have cut. This fact is very curiously noted by Pepys, who continues, "The next day, the King hates to have anybody mention what he had done the day before, nor will suffer anybody to gain upon him that way, which is a *good quality*."

About this time, the Chancellor sustained an unexpected and irreparable loss in the death of his wife, whom he affectionately designates "the mother of all his children, his companion in all his banishment, and who had made all his former calamities less grievous by her company," after an illness of less than three days. Immediately afterwards, the King vouchsafed to come to his house, to condole with him, and used many gracious expressions; but, in less than a fortnight, the Duke of York, who seldom passed a day without calling upon him, informed him that, in a conversation with his brother, the King had informed him that he had certain intelligence, that when Parliament next met, they had resolved to impeach the Chancellor, who, they were told, had advised a dissolution. That the King acknowledged that it was not in his power to screen

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iii. p. 363.

him, and therefore it would be for the advantage of his service if the Chancellor would resign the seal. At an interview which the King granted to the Chancellor at his own chamber in Whitehall, the latter, strong in his innocence, contended that it was not in the power of Parliament to injure him, with such effect that, after a conference of two hours, Charles appeared for some days irresolute.

The Chancellor considered Lady Castlemaine, Lord Arlington, and Sir William Coventry as the enemies, with Mr. May and Mr. Brounker, who decided the King to persevere. The Duke of York concerned himself on his behalf with as much warmth as any private gentleman could express on behalf of his friend. He was indignant at the behaviour of Coventry and Brounker, who, though his servants, presumed to show so much malice towards one for whom they knew that he entertained a kindness; and the former was so sensible of his displeasure, that he solicited his dismission, on the plea that, being now a commissioner of the treasury, he should not be able to attend to his service so diligently as he ought to do, and begged leave to recommend a fit person for his successor. The Duke drily replied, that he might dispose of himself as he pleased, and that he would choose another secretary for himself, without his recommendation. On consulting the Chancellor upon this point, he recommended Mr. Wren, who had been his own secretary for seven years, and whom the Duke, aware of his abilities and merit, readily engaged.

It was the 30th of August before the King carried into execution his purpose in regard to the Chancellor. He sent secretary Morrice with a warrant under the sign-manual, demanding the great seal, which the Chancellor immediately delivered, with warm expressions of duty to his Majesty. As soon as the secretary had presented it to the King in his closet, Mr. May entered, fell upon his knees, kissed his Majesty's hand, and exclaimed that he was now indeed a King, which he had never been before.

The Duke of Buckingham, whose influence in both Houses of Parliament has been adverted to, was soon added to the number of the Chancellor's enemies, though he had called upon him after his enlargement, to thank him for the civilities he had received from him. He had come again to Court, been received with extraordinary grace by the King, and reinstated in all the honours and offices of which he had been deprived. He was assured that all the proceedings against him had been advised by the Chancellor, and whatever the latter had said in council was tortured in such a manner as to make the most unfavourable impression on the Duke.

In the House of Commons, charges were soon preferred against the Chancellor. Most of them alleged that he had corruptly received large sums of money; and he was also accused of having traitorously endeavoured to persuade the King to dissolve the Parliament, and to govern by a standing army. The charges were divided into fifteen heads, and the House voted that

they should impeach the Earl of Clarendon in the usual manner before the House of Peers. Accordingly, Mr. Seymour, who had been extremely violent in this business, was sent up to the Lords, and at their bar accused the Earl of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours, and desired that his person might be secured. The Lords, however, refused to commit one of their number on a vague and unsupported charge of high treason from the House of Commons; and in this decision they persisted.

The malignity of the Chancellor's enemies, and their determination to effect his ruin by any means, were so evident that his friends urged him to yield to the storm, and to quit the country; but this course he rejected, on the ground that it would be a tacit confession of guilt. But, when it was intimated to him, from such authority as he could not doubt, that this was the wish of the King, who was both alarmed and incensed at the long and violent struggle between the two Houses on this subject, he complied, and, leaving his residence at night, on the 9th of December, embarked at Erith in a boat, provided by the friendship of Sir John Wolftenholme. The little bark, owing to unfavourable winds, was three days and nights before she landed him at Calais.

The Earl left behind him a petition and address, to be presented when he was gone, to the House of Peers. In this document he enters into a refutation of the charge of corruption, which is really affecting. He assured their lordships that, excepting from the King's bounty, he had never received or taken one penny but

what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisites of his office; and that all the courtesies or favours obtained by him from the King for other persons had never been worth to him five pounds. "I am at present indebted about three or four and twenty thousand pounds, for which I pay interest, and for which I have assigned lands and leases to be sold, though at present nobody will buy or sell with me; and, I am so far from having money, that, from the time the seat was taken from me, I have lived upon the coining some small parcels of plate, which have sustained me and my family, all my rents being withheld from me. My estate, my debts being paid, will not yield me two thousand pounds per annum, for the support of myself and providing for two young children, who have nothing. All I have is not worth what the King, in his bounty, hath bestowed upon me; his Majesty having, within a few months after his coming into England, bestowed upon me twenty thousand pounds in ready money without any motion of mine, and shortly after another sum, amounting to six thousand pounds, or thereabouts, out of Ireland. His Majesty likewise assigned me, after the first year of his return, an annual supply towards my support, which did but defray my expenses, the certain profits of my office not amounting to above £2,000 a-year or thereabouts, and the perquisites not very considerable, and very uncertain."

In this document, the Chancellor also entered into a vindication of the general conduct of affairs during his administration. The Lords communicated it to the

Commons, intimating that the withdrawal of the writer had put an end to the contest between the two Houses. The paper was condemned by the Commons to be burned by the hand of the hangman, as containing much untruth, scandal, and sedition; and the Lords, weary of the struggle, concurred in this sentence. Curiosity was excited in regard to its contents; copies were circulated; many regarded the writer with much more clemency, and thought that he had done well to get out of the reach of such angry judges.

The Chancellor, though now beyond the reach of his enemies, was not beyond the reach of their malice. They persuaded the French ambassador that there could be no cordial friendship between their master and the King of England so long as Clarendon remained in France; and, the ambassador having made this representation to his Court, an order was sent to the Earl, who was on his way to Rouen, to leave the French dominions with all possible expedition. The Parliament had, meanwhile, finding that the King would not consent to his attainder, prepared a Bill of banishment, which passed the two Houses and received the royal sanction. The act deprived the King of the power to pardon without the consent of Parliament; and was to be absolute, unless the Chancellor should surrender himself by a certain day to one of the secretaries of state, or the lieutenant of the Tower.

On receiving intelligence of these proceedings, and a letter from the Duke of York, urging him to return and undergo the trial, which would not fail to prove his

innocence, he prepared to follow this advice, and returned to Calais, where illness prevented the prosecution of his intention, and confined him to his bed for six weeks.

By this time, the French Court discovered that the close alliance which it meditated with England was prevented by the Triple League into which Charles had entered. Its conduct towards the Chancellor was, in consequence, changed, and he received permission to reside in any part of the kingdom that he pleased. He then applied for a passport to Avignon, intending to use the waters of Bourbon on his way. Travelling back to Rouen, he prosecuted his journey, and, on reaching Evreux, was assailed by a new enemy. A company of English sailors, who had entered into the French service as artillerymen, being quartered there, and hearing of the arrival of the Chancellor, beset the inn where he had taken up his quarters for the night, insisting on his paying them an arrear of some months due to them in England. They broke open the door of the inn; but that of the room where the Chancellor was, being barricaded, they fired their pistols into the window, wounded some of the servants, and M. de la Fonde, the agent of the French government, who was escorting the Chancellor, and entered the apartment. They swore that they would make him pay their arrears, rifled his pockets and his trunks, and one of them struck him such a blow with the flat of a broad sword, as he sat upon the bed, that he fell backwards and lay for some time completely stunned. When he came to

himself, they dragged him into the court, and were on the point of despatching him with their swords, when the arrival of some of the magistrates with a guard, rescued him from the clutches of the blood-thirsty rioters. For this outrage, three of their number were broken upon the wheel.

Clarendon survived his banishment only six years, which he devoted to the writing of his History of the Civil Wars, a performance that reflects honour upon his memory.

CHAPTER XI.

Amours of the King.—Lady Castlémaine created Duchess of Cleveland.—Fatal duel.—Insurrection of the Apprentices.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—A Magistrate in disgrace.—Question of a divorce between the King and Queen.—The Cabal.—Demise of the Queen-mother.—Charles visited by his sister, the Duchess of Orleans.—Her sudden death.—His Secret Treaty with Louis XIV.—Mademoiselle De Querouaille becomes a mistress of the King.—Royal Palace at Newmarket.—Repairs to Windsor Castle.—Death of Albemarle.—Gibbon, a young artist, introduced to his Majesty.—Atrocities of the Duke of Monmouth.—Savage assault on Sir John Coventry.—Blood's crimes.—Death of the Duchess of York.—Proposed alliance for the Duke.—The King and Queen go on a tour.—Newmarket races.—Sea-fights with the Dutch.—The Duke married to the Princess of Este.—Peace with Holland.—The Test Bill.—The Princess Mary united to the Prince of Orange.—Anecdotes of the King.

T the beginning of the year 1668, a change came over the King in regard to his conduct towards his ill-treated and neglected wife, who had for some time past borne all the affronts put upon

her, with the greatest meekness and submission. He now showed her marked attention, and supped with her every night. He nevertheless followed up his amours with the two comic actresses, Nell Gwynne and Moll Davies. He furnished a house for the latter in Suffolk Street, and presented her with a diamond ring worth £700, in testimony of his approbation of her dancing. This valuable gift she shewed to everybody, boasting from whom she had received it. She afterwards had a daughter by the King, to whom he gave the name of Tudor, and married her to Sir Francis Ratcliffe. Two sons resulted from this union, the unfortunate Earls of Derwentwater.

Evelyn mentions his having seen Lady Castlemaine at one of the masques at Court, a few months before, blazing with diamonds to the value of at least £40,000, and far out-shining the Queen. Charles subsequently created her Duchess of Cleveland, and gave the name of Fitzroy to her eldest son by him.

The Duke of Buckingham, who was incessantly involved in some quarrel or other, fought a duel on the 16th of January. The circumstance is thus chronicled by Pepys. "There was much talk of a duel yesterday between the Duke of Buckingham, Holmes, and one Jenkins, on one side, and my Lord of Shrewsbury, Sir John Talbot and one Bernard Howard, on the other side; and all about my Lady Shrewsbury, who is at this time, and hath for a great while been, a mistress to the Duke of Buckingham. And so her husband challenged him, and they met yesterday, in a close near

Barn-elmes, and there fought, and my Lord Shrewsbury is run through the body from the right breast to the shoulder, and Sir John Talbot along up one of his armes, and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all in a little measure wounded."[1]

On the 24th of March, a great tumult took place in Moorfields among the apprentices, whose design was to demolish houses of ill repute. This commotion produced great uneasiness at Court, and the soldiers, under the command of Lord Craven, were ordered out to suppress it. Some of these young men were arrested, and brought by the military to the guard-house at Whitehall; others were taken to Clerkenwell prison, but were released by their associates, who broke open the doors. The King, on being informed of this disturbance, and that such houses were considered a great evil, is said to have replied in a cool, unconcerned manner, "Why do they go to them, then?"[2] wishing to drop the subject.

This tumult continued for two or three nights, although the soldiers were out. Many houses were pulled down; stones were thrown at the military, and some bloodshed occurred. "These idle fellows had the assurity to declare that they did ill in contenting themselves with pulling down the little dens of infamy, and did not go and pull down *the great one* at Whitehall."[3]

"On the 5th of April," observes the amusing

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iv. p. 15. [2] Ibid. p. 75.
[3] Ibid. p. 77.

diarist, "I hear that eight of the ring-leaders in the late tumults of the prentices at Easter are condemned to die." The frail fair ones, whose houses had been demolished, now circulated a printed petition, "which," says Pepys, "was devilish severe against Lady Castlemaine and the King."[1]

The Triple League between England, Sweden, and Holland was now formed; which saved Flanders for a time by inducing the French to agree with Spain, and to restore part of their conquests by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, May 2nd.

Thus did Charles, with honour to himself, with satisfaction to his people, and the applause of his allies, in some measure atone for his impolitic steps in commencing and conducting the Dutch war, whereby the two contending nations were weakened, and France had an opportunity of meditating, and in part executing, those mighty schemes of ambition which afterwards proved so fatal to herself and her neighbours.

A very remarkable story is related by Pepys of the interference of Charles with the proceedings of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a Justice of Peace for Westminster, and who likewise carried on business as a wood-monger. Having in May arrested one Alexander Frazier, who owed him about £30 for firing, we are told that, "the Bailiffs were apprehended, committed to the porter's lodge, and there, by the King's command, the last night severely whipped; from which the Justice himself very hardly escaped, to such an unusual

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iv. p. 88.

degree was the King moved therein. He [the justice] now lies in the lodge justifying his act, and says he will suffer in the cause for the people, and do now refuse to receive almost any nutriment. The effects of it may be bad to the Court."[1]

Their Majesties, attended by the Court, went on a tour of pleasure in the autumn, and visited Audley End, Euston, and Newmarket, returning to Whitehall in November.

Early in 1669, the confident hopes which had been again entertained that the Queen was about to produce an heir to the throne, were again doomed to end in disappointment. Charles, in a letter to his sister, remarked that "there had been no accident to cause it." He was now importuned by his associates to apply to Parliament for a divorce from the Queen, and to seek a younger and more fruitful wife. Although he at first seemed willing to listen to the proposition, he eventually rejected it, observing, "that he must let that matter alone, as it would not do."[2]

When the question of a divorce was more seriously debated, in 1673, and even some preliminary steps taken in the House of Lords, where the divorce bill of Lord Roos (afterwards Earl of Rutland) was passed through the House, to serve as a precedent, the King said publicly that, "if his conscience would allow him to divorce the Queen, it would suffer him to dispatch her out of the world; and Buckingham and his worthy coadjutor, Lord Bristol, found themselves opposed in a

[1] Pepys' Diary, Vol. iv. p. 328. [2] Burnet.

quarter from which they little expected opposition."[1] The lady of Lord Roos was first cousin to Lady Castlemaine.

The whole management of affairs at this time has been generally represented as centring in five persons—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale; the initial letters of whose names forming the technical word Cabal, it is probable that the wit which was thought to be in this conceit gave birth to the opinion. Nothing can be more evident than that the Duke of York had the greatest, if not the only influence in the Council; and it would seem that the Duke of Ormond must have had some share in the conduct of affairs; for, when the Duke of Buckingham was, about three years afterwards (Feb. 14, 1673), examined before the House of Commons, and was asked by the Speaker which of the ministry had got any great sums of money, he mentioned only Ormond and Arlington, and said of the former it was upon record that he had got £500,000.[2]

King James, in his Memoirs, mentions a remarkable meeting as having taken place in the royal closet on the 25th of January, 1669, for the purpose of deciding on the best means to be pursued for promoting the Roman Catholic faith in this country. Charles himself, the Duke of York, Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Sir Thomas Clifford were present on the occasion. "The King," says James, expressed himself grieved at being

[1] Memoirs of James II.

[2] Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury, Vol. i. 394—6.

compelled to deny his faith "with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes."

In the beginning of September, the King and the Duke went to Southampton, to hunt in the New Forest. While there, they received, by express, intelligence of the death of the Queen, their mother, at Colombe, near Paris. "She excelled," says her son, "in all the qualities of a good wife, a good mother, and a good Christian." [1]

Although Charles felt no scruple in violating his most solemn engagements, it is reasonable to suppose that his Parliament and people would oppose him in the course he was about to pursue. While the French ambassador did all in his power to gain over the English ministers, the King carried on a secret correspondence with his sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. From certain symptoms, the Dutch rightly divined that something wrong was going on in reference to their English ally; they accordingly dispatched Van Beuningen to England, with the view of penetrating the mystery. He was also charged to endeavour to bring about the prohibition of French commodities in this country, which, we are told, was a favourite project of De Witt. Soon after this, the Duchess of Orleans arrived in London on a visit to her brother, who went to meet her at Dover on the 22d of May, 1670, upon which occasion there were great festivities and rejoicings. The English monarch, in order to administer to his necessities, then signed a treaty at Dover, by which he consented to

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 416.

favour the promotion of the Catholic religion in England, and to make war upon his new ally, the Dutch, with whom he had so lately ratified the Triple Alliance, in consideration of being paid £200,000 per annum by the French King, as a reward for his perfidy and breach of faith.

Henrietta took back with her the treaty alluded to, which gave Louis full power to prosecute his designs against Holland, without fear of intervention on the part of England. Soon after her return to France, the young Princess was taken suddenly ill, declared she had been poisoned, and shortly afterwards expired, to the great grief of the King of England. Several persons, including her husband, were suspected, but nothing positive was elicited to fix the guilt upon any one.

A few days after the death of the Duchess of Orleans, Charles II. sent over for the beautiful Mademoiselle de Querouaille, who had attended the Duchess of Orleans at Dover. He then prevailed upon Catharine, out of respect, as he pretended, for his sister's memory, to appoint her one of her maids of honour. After this, she became one of the King's principal mistresses, as well as one of the most extravagant.

Evelyn affirms that her apartments at Whitehall were splendid and luxuriously furnished, "with ten times the richness and glory of the Queen's—with massive services of plate, and tables and stands of incredible value." After giving birth to a son, the King created her Duchess of Portsmouth. She was so addicted to

gambling that she lost vast sums in gratifying this favourite propensity. Under these circumstances, she had only to apply to the King for new supplies of money, which he did not fail to provide.[1]

Charles occasionally paid a visit to Newmarket, where he was re-building his palace. Evelyn, passing through this town on the 22d of June, thus describes it:—

"We alighted to see his Maties house, now new building: the arches of the cellars beneath are well turn'd, the rest mean enough & hardly fit for a hunting-house. Many of the roomes above had the chimnies plac'd in ye angles & corners, a mode introduc'd by his Maty, wch I do at no hand approve of. Besides this house is plac'd in a dirty streete, without any court or avenue, like a common one, whereas it might and ought to have been built at either end of the towne, upon the very carpet where the sports are celebrated; but it being the purchase of an old wretched house of Lord Thomond's, his Maty was persuaded to set it on that foundation, the most improper imaginable for a house of sport and pleasure.[2] We went to see the stables and fine horses, of wch many were kept here at a vast expense, with all the art and tenderness imaginable."

"In August," continues Evelyn, "Windsor was now going to be repaired, being exceedingly ragged and ruinous. The King pass'd most of his time in hunting

[1] She died at the seat of her son, Richmond, at Aubigny, in France, in 1734, at the age of ninety.

[2] It was sold by the Crown in 1816.

the stag, and walking in the parke, which he was planting with rows of trees.

"Prince Rupert, the constable, had begun to trim up the keepe or high round tower, and handsomely adorn'd his hall with furniture of armes, which was very singular, by so disposing of pikes, muskets, pistols, bandeliers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and head-pieces, as was very extraordinary. Thus, those huge steepe stayres ascending to it had y^e^ walls invested with this martial furniture, all new and bright, so disposing y^e^ bandeliers, holsters, and drums, as to represent festoons, and that without any confusion, trophy-like. From the hall, we went into his bed-chamber, and ample roomes hung with tapistrie, curious and effeminate pictures, so extremely different from the other, which presented nothing but warr and horror."

On the 3rd of January, 1671, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, breathed his last, after a lingering illness, at Newhall, in Essex, in the sixty-third year of his age. This remarkable man, it will be remembered, after faithfully serving the Commonwealth in the Civil War carried on against Charles I., and expressing his detestation of Kingly governments, suddenly turned round, abandoned all his former principles, and was the chief instrument in the Restoration of his son. For this eminent service, Charles conferred on him his ducal title. But the public mind was justly irritated against one who had exhibited such gross apostacy and dissimulation. He left behind him a large estate in land, valued at £15,000 per year, besides £60,000 in money,

which he had acquired through the bounty of the King.

Charles loved and patronized the Fine Arts, and always evinced a disposition to encourage genius and talent. Evelyn knew this, and says, "On the 18th of January. This day I first acquainted his Ma^ty with that incomparable young man, Gibbon, whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by meere accident as I was walking neere a poore solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish, near Say's Court. I found him shut in; but looking in at the window, I perceived him carving that large cartoon or crucifix of Tintoret, a copy of which I had myself brought from Venice, where the original painting remaines. I asked if I might enter; he open'd the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for y^e curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactnesse, I never had before seen in all my travells. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place? He told me it was that he might apply himself to his profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I had found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made known to some greate man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit. He answer'd he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece. On demanding the price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong: in the piece were more than 100 figures of men, &c.

I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreete in his discourse. There was onely an old woman in the house, so desiring leave to visite him sometimes, I went away.

"Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begg'd that he would give me leave to bring him and his work to Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Maty that he had never seen anything approach it, and that he would be exceedingly pleased to employ him. The King said he would himself go see him."

Evelyn relates that, soon afterwards, at his desire, Gibbon brought "his excellent piece of carving to Whitehall, where the King was astonish'd at the curiositie of it, and ordered it to be carried up to the Queen to be shown her. Here, 'she and the King admired it againe:' but, being called away, he left Evelyn and the artist with the Queen, believing she would have bought it, it being a crucifix. But, when the King was gone, a French pedling woman, one Mad. de Boord, who used to bring petticoates, and fanns, and baubles out of France to the ladys, began to find fault with several thinges in the worke, which she understood no more than an asse, or a monkey; so, as in a kind of indignation, I caused the person who brought it, to carry it back to the chamber, finding the Queene so much governed by an ignorant French woman, and this incomparable artist had his labour onely for his paines, and he was faine to send it down to his cottage againe.

"He not long after sold it for £80, though well worth £100, without the frame, to Sir Geo. Viner."

On the recommendation of Mr. Evelyn, Charles, who, as Walpole observes, "was too indolent to search for genius, and too indiscriminate in his bounty to confine it to merit, but always pleased when it was brought home to him," gave the artist a place in the Board of Works, and employed his hand on ornaments of most taste for his palaces, particularly at Windsor. According to the same writer, he was also engaged by Betterton to decorate the theatre in Dorset Gardens. Evelyn adds that "his Ma^tys surveyor, Mr. [afterwards Sir Christopher] Wren, faithfully promised to employ him."

On the 4th of March, when Evelyn was again with the King, and had an opportunity to bespeak for Gibbon his work at Windsor, which, he says, "my friend Mr. May, the architect there, was going to alter and repaire universally, he walked with the King through St. James's Parke to the garden, where," he adds, "I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between . . . . . and Mrs. Nellie, as they call'd an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and . . . . . standing on y^e greene walke under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence, the King walked to the Dutchess of Cleaveland, another lady of pleasure and curse of our nation." Walpole, in his Catalogue of Painters, characterizes Gibbon, as "an original genius, a citizen of nature." There is no instance before him, he says, of a man who gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of

flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements with the free disorder natural to each species. It is uncertain whether he was born in Holland or England.

After his marriage, the young Duke of Monmouth led a most wicked and disorderly life. On the night of the 28th of February, he and his wicked companions being out on a drunken frolic, killed a parish beadle, which excited universal horror and indignation; and a grand ball, which was to have taken place at the Palace the same evening, was abandoned in consequence of this outrage. Only a few weeks before the commission of this brutal murder, Monmouth had been a principal instigator in another cruel and dastardly transaction, viz:—an attack upon Sir John Coventry, a country gentleman who had incurred the King's displeasure for sarcastically reflecting on his partiality to actresses, during a debate on the taxing of theatres. The unfortunate offender of royalty was waylaid on returning home from his parliamentary duties by some officers of the guards, borne forcibly to the ground, beaten, and had his nose slit to the bone with a penknife, to teach him, as they said, what respect he owed to the King. The Commons were exasperated at this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words he had spoken in the House, and they passed a law which made it capital to maim any person, and enacted that those criminals who had assaulted Coventry should be incapable of receiving pardon from the Crown. Four of these received sentence of banishment, but the Duke,

to whom Charles was devotedly attached, was shielded from punishment, and shortly made his appearance at Court as usual.

Although the King felt highly offended at the words publicly uttered by Sir John Coventry in the grand assembly of the nation, it does not appear that he was in any way instrumental in the brutal attack which had been made upon him. Another affair occurred about this time, in which Charles was greatly condemned for his lenity. Blood, a disbanded officer of the Commonwealth, had been implicated in a conspiracy for exciting an insurrection in Ireland, for which he had been attainted, and some of his accomplices capitally punished. The daring adventurer, in consequence, cherished feelings of revenge against Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant. Having artfully contrived to draw off the Duke's footman, he one night attacked his coach as it passed through St. James's Street, and secured his person. He then bound him, placed him on horseback behind one of his companions, and proceeded towards Tyburn, where he had resolved to hang him. They had made some progress on their route through the fields, when the Duke, by a violent effort, threw himself on the ground, bringing down with him the villain to whom he was fastened. A struggle then ensued, in the course of which the Duke's servants opportunely arrived to his rescue. Blood and his guilty associates then fired their pistols at the Duke, which providentially missed him, and rapidly rode off, escaping under cover of the night.

Buckingham was at first suspected of being the author of this daring outrage, on account of his profligate character, and his well-known enmity towards Ormond. The Duke's son, Lord Ossory, shortly afterwards came to Court, and observing Buckingham standing near the King, expressed himself as follows: "My Lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt on my father; but I give you warning, if he, by any means, come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author. I shall consider you as the assassin, and shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the King's chair; and I tell it you in his Majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance." [1]

Soon after this, Blood conceived the idea of carrying off the Crown jewels from the Tower, in which he nearly succeeded, having bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office. He then contrived to make off with his rich booty, when he was overtaken and arrested with some of his associates. On being questioned, he refused to name his accomplices, affirming that "the fear of death should never engage him either to deny guilt, or betray a friend."

This extraordinary circumstance soon formed the theme of public conversation. The King feeling curious to see and speak with so notorious an offender, accordingly sent for him. On asking Blood "how he dared make such a bold attempt on the crown

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 225.

jewels?" He replied, "My father lost a good estate in fighting for the Crown, and I considered it no harm to recover it by the crown." [1]

At this remarkable interview, he boldly told the King that he had been engaged with others in a project to assassinate him; and, for this purpose, he had lingered with a loaded carbine about Battersea, near the spot where he was accustomed to bathe; that he had been induced to harbour this guilty design from the severity exhibited by the King towards religious assemblies; but that he had been restrained, while standing among the reeds by the river, with an awe of Majesty, and that he had used his influence with his companions to divert them from their purpose. He concluded by asserting that he was indifferent about life, which he now gave over for lost; but warned the King of the danger which might attend his execution, since his associates had bound themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to revenge the death of any of their party, and that nothing could prevent their carrying out this desperate resolution. Whether Charles admired Blood's fearless bearing, or felt intimidated by his threats, is uncertain; at all events, he decided to pardon this great criminal. Before doing so, however, he deemed it advisable to communicate with the Duke of Ormond, to whom he sent Lord Arlington with a message, desiring him not to prosecute Blood. The Duke at once expressed his readiness to comply with his Majesty's commands. Charles extended his kind-

[1] Birch MSS.

ness to this ruffian still further. He granted him an estate of £500 per year in Ireland, and gave him countenance and encouragement about his own person.

Only a few months after this strange occurrence, Evelyn met this formidable personage at a dinner party at Lord Clifford's. On the 10th of May, he records, "I din'd at Mr. Treasurer's (Lord Clifford), where din'd M. de Grammont and several French noblemen, and one Blood, who had not long before attempted to steale the imperial crowne itselfe out of the Tower. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not only after this, but several other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spie of severall parties, being well with the sectaries and enthusiasts, and did his Ma^ty's services that way, which none alive could do so well as he. The man had not onely a daring, but a villainous, unmercifull looke, a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating." Thus do we sometimes see a great criminal escape the fate he so richly deserves, while a comparatively trifling offender is visited by condign punishment.

After receiving the last Sacraments of the Catholic Church, the Duchess of York expired, with great devotion and resignation, on the last day of March. Not long after her death, the Duke was pressed by several of his friends to marry again. In about six months, the King himself spoke to his brother on the subject, and the person proposed was the Princess of Inspruck,

daughter of an Archduke of Austria. "The well-wishers to the crown were very desirous that the Duke should lose no time, the King having no legitimate children, the Queen likely to live long without hopes of having any, and the Duke having lost six of the eight he had by his wife, of which four were boys, and only two daughters left." [1]

Sir Bernard Gascoigne was accordingly sent to negociate the match at Vienna and Inspruck. The articles were signed and exchanged, and among them was one stipulating that the Princess should be allowed a public chapel in England. The Earl of Peterborough was then despatched as Ambassador-extraordinary to the Emperor, with authority to marry the Princess as proxy for the Duke; but he was stopped at Calais by the news of the death of the Empress, and of the Emperor's determination to marry that Princess himself, which put an end to the negociation.

Being very witty himself, Charles was generally much amused when he recognised this quality in others. On one occasion, on demanding of a stranger who was presenting a petition to him, how he "dared to bring such a paper to him?" "May it please your Majesty," returned the fellow with great effrontery, "my name is *Dare*."

One day the sarcastic Rochester ventured to inscribe the following on the door of the King's chamber—

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 454.

"Here lies our sovereign Lord, the King,
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one."

Charles exhibited no anger at this censure of his witty courtier. "It is very true," observed he, after perusing the lines, "my sayings are my own, but my doings are those of my ministers."

The King, Queen, and Court went on a country tour in the autumn, and were sumptuously entertained at the seats of the nobility and gentry whom they honoured with a visit, and more particularly by the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, at Audley End. While here, the Queen, to whom nothing worse than a frolic was ever imputed, even by the scandalous Court in which she lived, went *incognita* with the Duchesses of Richmond and Buckingham to witness the sports at the fair at Saffron Walden, in the guise of rustic damsels. Each rode on horseback on a pillion behind a gentleman of the Court. On reaching the fair, they were greatly disconcerted at being recognised, beat a precipitate retreat, and got back to Audley End as fast as their wretched hacks would carry them.

In the course of this tour, the King went to witness the races at Newmarket, as well as to see the progress made with his new palace. On the 9th of October, a great match was run there between Woodcock and Flat-foot, belonging to the King and Mr. Eliot of the bed-chamber. Mr. Evelyn was present at this race, and went the same night, with the Treasurer, to the seat of

Lord Arlington at Euston, where, he says, "we found Mons. Colbert, the French ambassador, and the famous new French maid-of-honour, Mlle. Querouaille, now coming to be in greater favour with the King. During my stay here with Lord Arlington, neere a fortnight, His Maty came almost every second day with the Duke, who commonly return'd to Newmarket, but the King often lay here. It was universally reported that the fair lady . . . . . was bedded one of these nights, and the stocking flung, after the manner of a married bride; I acknowledge she was, for the most part, in her undresse all day, and that there was fondnesse and toying with that young wanton: nay, 'twas said I was at the former ceremony, but 'tis utterly false; I neither saw nor heard of any such thing while I was there, though I had been in her chamber, and all over that apartment late enough, and was myself observing all passages with curiosity enough. However, 'twas with confidence believed she was first made a Misse, as they call these unhappy creatures, with solemnity at this time."

"Leaving Euston on the 21st, I lodged this night at Newmarket, where I found the jolly blades raceing, dancing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout, than a christian Court. The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty favour, and had with him that impudent woman, the Countess of Shrewsbury, with his band of fiddlers, &c."

In consequence of the King's secret compact with Louis, a large fleet, under the Vice-Admiral D'Estrées, was got ready in France to co-operate with the English

fleet under the command of the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich against the Dutch, who endeavoured in every way to conciliate the King of France, but in vain. Although no declaration of hostilities on the part of Great Britain had been made, and the two powers were in reality at peace, on the 14th of March, 1672, Admiral Holmes attacked the Dutch ships, while convoying through the channel the Smyrna fleet, only six of which he succeeded in capturing. The proceeding gave rise to much discussion, as to how far Holmes was justified in this aggression, which ended in a declaration of war between England and Holland.

Accordingly, the combined French and English squadrons had a most bloody engagement with De Ruyter and Van Ghent, on the 28th of May. The latter of these admirals was killed in action, as well as the gallant Earl of Sandwich.[1] The hostile fleets then separated, each claiming the victory; but it seems to have been a drawn battle. Charles went to the Nore to welcome his victorious brother on his return, and directed that particular care should be taken of the wounded seamen.

Charles, observing the desperate state of affairs in Holland, the greater part of which was now in the hands of King Louis, who had vigorously followed up the war in that country, now decided to send ministers to his camp, where the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington, Secretary of State, arrived on the 6th of July.

[1] He was interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, on the 3rd of July.

They were received with the greatest distinction, and Louis supported the claims of the King of England, who demanded from Holland a million sterling to indemnify him for the expenses of the war; £100,000 per annum for the right of fishery; that the Stadholderate should be made hereditary in the house of Orange; that the ships of the United Provinces should strike their topsails to every British ship of war; and that England should participate equally in the commerce of the Indies. The idea of a peace, on such terms, excited the highest indignation in Holland, or at least in that part of it which had not been ravaged by the French.

Various naval engagements then ensued between the combined fleets of England and France on the one side, and of those of Holland on the other, with little or no advantage to either party. But De Ruyter acquired the utmost renown for his skill and valour. So ended these memorable sea-fights with the Dutch, that constitute so remarkable a feature in this reign, some of which, both for their protracted duration, and the indomitable bravery displayed on both sides, are without parallel in the whole range of English history.

During the present year, negociations were set on foot by Holland and Spain, with the view of detaching England from her alliance with France. At this time, there was a new administration, Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale having been openly charged by the House of Commons with their malpractices and corrupt procedure.

In September the great seal was taken from Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the Earl of Shaftesbury was appointed Lord Chancellor, and Lord Clifford was made Lord Treasurer. Arlington was so discontented and mortified at the appointment of Clifford to that office, which he coveted for himself, though the King knew him to be unfit for it, that he was ever afterwards cool towards his colleague.

Alarmed by the defection of the Duke of York from the Protestant faith and the encouragement given to Popery, the Parliament, for the purpose of securing the established religion, in 1673, adopted a test, or declaration, such as no Catholic could in conscience take, and enacted that no person whatsoever should be capable of any employment, civil or military, without taking this test. The Duke was, in consequence, deprived of all his commands and employments, and it had a similar effect on Lord Clifford. Prince Rupert was appointed to the command of the fleet, in place of the former, and Sir Thomas Osborne, who had been treasurer of the navy and recently created Earl Danby, to the office of Lord Treasurer instead of the latter.

The King being now desirous that the Duke should marry again, sent the Earl of Peterborough to the Court of Modena, to look out for a Princess likely to be a fit match for his brother. The Earl fixed upon the Princess of Este, sister of the Duke, who was then a minor; and, having made his report to the King and the Duke of York, was commissioned by the former to ask her in marriage for his brother. "It was with no

little difficulty," says James, "that the young Princess consented to it, she being but fifteen years old, and so innocently bred, that till then she had never heard of such a place as England, or of such a person as the Duke of York. Besides, she had at that time a great inclination to be a nun, insomuch that the Duchess, her mother, was obliged to get the Pope to write to her and persuade her to comply with her mother's desires, as most conducive to the service of God and the public good." With much difficulty, his Holiness and her Highness prevailed upon the Princess,[1] and on the 30th of September she was married to the Earl of Peterborough, as proxy for the Duke. When the circumstance became publicly known, the House of Commons, taking great umbrage at this match with a Catholic Princess, voted an address to the King, praying him to break it; and some of the Council, among whom was Lord Arlington, even advised his Majesty to stop the further progress of the Duchess, when on the road from Paris to Calais. This address, however, had no effect upon the King, who prorogued the Parliament. The Duke went to Dover to meet the Princess, who landed there on the 21st of November, and the Bishop of Oxford accompanied him to perform the office of declaring the marriage, according to the form usual in such cases. The Duke with his bride arrived at Whitehall on the 26th of October, having been met on the river by the King and the principal nobility.

This late address of the House of Commons had

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 435.

caused so great a fright at Whitehall, that even the King himself was not wholly exempt from it; for, whereas it was stipulated in the articles of marriage that the Duchess should have a public chapel, namely, that of St. James's, formerly built by the late Queen-mother, yet his Majesty was prevailed upon by the councillors then about him, not to suffer the Duchess to make use of that public chapel but only of a private one, which they caused to be fitted up in the house; and, to give some colour to this breach of articles, they prevailed with the Queen to claim a right in the chapel of St. James's, she having been formerly possessed of it, though at that time she had no use for it, having her own at Somerset House.

Before the Duke became a convert to Popery, he had been a great favourite with the nation, for having so freely and so frequently risked his life for the honour and interest of the King and country, and for his assiduous attention to trade, naval matters, and business in general. Now, these merits were blotted from recollection, and he was treated as the common enemy. Some of his friends advised him to retire for a while from Court into the country, "where he might hunt and pray, without offence to any, or disquiet to himself;" but he assured them that he should always consider it his duty to attend personally upon the King, and render him all the service in his power, till his brother should command him to go into the country.

In November, the great seal was taken from Lord Shaftesbury, who had lately shown a strong bias to the

popular cause, and given to Sir Heneage Finch, with the title of Lord Keeper—"that Earl who, in all the revolutions this nation has undergone from the beginning of the rebellion in the time of King Charles I., was famous for turning from side to side, and being still foremost in the several turns of government, though never so contrary to one another."

The united voice of his people, at length induced the King to arrange terms once more with Holland, and a new treaty was signed on the 19th of February, 1674, in which the Dutch conceded to nearly every demand made upon them. By this treaty, the States agreed to pay to the King of England the sum of 800,000 pata-coons, about £300,000 sterling. Peace was concluded with Holland, and proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people, on the 28th of February. The House of Commons, formerly so eager for war, were now not less so for peace with the Dutch, and soon afterwards began to urge the King to enter into a war with France; but, at the same time, they were very backward in granting sufficient supplies for carrying it on.

The enemies of the Duke, though they had succeeded in forcing him to resign all his employments, were not satisfied unless they could remove him from the King's presence, and even from the succession to the Crown. To this end, they projected to have another Test passed in Parliament more comprehensive than the former, and containing a renunciation of many other tenets in which the Catholics differ from the Protestants; with a

clause that whoever should refuse to take the said Test should not be suffered to come into the King's presence, without permission obtained under the hand of six privy councillors. But, when this Bill was carried in the House of Commons, the Duke's friends had sufficient interest, though by means of a majority of only two votes, to get a proviso inserted for excepting the person of the Duke, "which put the little Earl of Shaftesbury so out of humour that he said he cared not what became of the Bill having that proviso in it."[1]

The Duke's enemies, bent on effecting his exclusion from the succession, and having failed in their endeavours to persuade the King to a divorce, now strove to inflame the ambition of the Duke of Monmouth by the prospect of his being declared legitimate. The Earls of Carlisle and Shaftesbury, the chief promoters of this scheme, encouraged by the affection which the King showed for that Duke, had the assurance to tell his Majesty that, if he would but consent to have the thing done, they would undertake to find witnesses to prove the Duke of Monmouth's legitimacy. The King received the proposal with indignation, and told them that, well as he loved the Duke of Monmouth, he had rather see him hanged up at Tyburn than own him as his legitimate son.[2] By this rebuff, the party was not deterred from pushing on the design, or the Duke from prosecuting the ambitious thoughts which had taken possession of his soul.

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 490.
[2] Ibid.

Early in 1675, the King was prevailed upon by his ministers to issue several orders in council and proclamations for enforcing the laws against non-conformists, and particularly against the Catholics, forbidding them to come to Court, or to approach the King's person; for the ministers, when afraid of the House of Commons, were accustomed to sacrifice the Papists to screen themselves. They represented the bishops as the originators of these measures; though, at a conference which several of the members of the Council held with them at Lambeth-House, instead of being pressed by those prelates, it was the ministers who strenuously urged them to make such proposals to the King, to which at last they consented.

Another contrivance of the ministers to pacify the Parliament was to have a match concluded between the Duke of York's eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, and the Prince of Orange, to which the King readily gave his consent. He, therefore, informed the Duke that he should send the Lords Arlington and Ossory to Holland, to ascertain the intentions of the Prince; and, if they found him disposed to peace, to hold out to him the prospect that his addresses for the hand of the Princess would be favourably received. The Duke, startled at this sudden proposal for disposing of his daughter without his consent, remonstrated with the King on the impropriety of making the first overture, which ought to come from the Prince; but his brother persisted in his resolution, and the Duke was forced to acquiesce. The proposal was as coldly received by the

Prince as it had been reluctantly acceded to by the Duke.

In January, 1676, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, a prelate eminent for his zeal against Popery, solicited permission of the Duke to confirm the Princess Mary, as she was now of sufficient age, in order that she might receive the sacrament in the Church of England. The Duke replied that, since his conscience did not permit him to communicate with that Church, he could not consent that the Princess should; adding, that it was much against his will that his daughters went to church, and were bred Protestants; and, if he had submitted to this, it was only because he knew that, if he had attempted to cause them to be instructed in his own religion, they would have been quite taken from him. He wished the Bishop to inform the King of what had passed between them; and his Majesty commanded him to confirm his niece.

About the beginning of June, 1677, the Prince of Orange sent over his chief confidant, M. de Bentinck, to make professions of duty and service to his Majesty, and of his willingness to be guided by his counsel in regard to peace or war, provided his Majesty did not propose anything contrary to his honour. Similar professions were made to the Duke, who assured the envoy that he should always have that kindness for his nephew which both his own merit, and the interest of the royal family, which chiefly consists in being well united, required of him; and he represented that the Prince must not consider "the King's unwillingness, to enter

into a war as proceeding from any other reason than self-preservation, for he foresaw the ruin of the royal family, if he should engage in a war in his present condition, with his magazines empty, his fleet in bad condition; and, above all, the Parliament in such a temper that all he could then do was to keep things quiet at home."[1]

The opposition to the Court, now headed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, aware that their party in the House of Commons was not strong enough to carry matters as far as they wished, and hoping to increase their influence by a new election, printed and dispersed papers, contending that, according to law, the Parliament was dissolved because there had been no session for upwards of a year. A clause inserted in one of those papers, affirmed that Parliament had power to alter the succession to the Crown. When the two Houses met, the Duke of Buckingham, in the Lords, made a long speech to prove that the fifteen months' prorogation had dissolved this Parliament, and made a motion to that effect, which was seconded by Lords Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and Wharton. After a long debate, the four Lords above-mentioned were ordered to withdraw, and it was resolved that they should be brought to the bar to be reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor, and to beg pardon of the King and the House. On their refusal to comply, they were all committed to the Tower.

About this time the Duke of Ormond, who had been some years before removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. I. p. 504.

of Ireland, through the influence of Buckingham with the King, applied to the Duke of York to mediate with his Majesty for his restoration to that post. The Duke cheerfully undertook the commission, and obtained his brother's consent to Ormond's re-appointment, though it was secretly opposed by the Lord Treasurer.

In October, the campaign in Flanders being over, the Prince of Orange came to England, and, landing at Harwich, went straight to Newmarket, where Charles then was. The chief object of this visit was to concert with his uncle such a plan for peace between France and the allied powers, as might for the future secure Flanders, and consequently Holland, from being overrun by the French, and to prefer his suit for the hand of the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York. In a few days, the consent of the King and the Duke to the match was signified in Council: the former observing that he believed it would be agreeable to his people, and show them the care he had for religion; for which reason he thought it the best alliance he could make. The Duke said he hoped that he had now given a sufficient proof of the sincerity of his intentions for the public good, and that people would no more say he designed the altering of the government in church or state; for, whatever his religion might be, all he desired was, that men might not be molested merely for conscience sake.[1]

The terms of peace with France were then discussed,

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 509—18.

and Lord Duras was sent to Paris with proposals, to which he brought back only an evasive answer.

The marriage of William Prince of Orange the king's nephew, with the Princess Mary was solemnized at Whitehall on the 4th of November. In honour of this event, and of the anniversary of the Queen's natal day, a splendid ball was given at Court, previously to the departure of the newly-married pair for Holland.

During the past five years, Charles had almost entirely estranged himself from the Queen, not occupying the same apartment, and seldom seeing her, unless he met her in public. This separation was, doubtless, occasioned by his growing infatuation for the Duchess of Portsmouth, and to the influence of Shaftesbury, who cordially detested both herself and the Duke, and did all in his power to prevent his succession to the throne.

"Shaftesbury," one day said the King to the unprincipled Earl, "I believe thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions." "For a subject, Sir," retorted the other, "I believe I am."

Another anecdote is related of the King about this time, which is highly characteristic of his good humour and affability. Penn, the celebrated Quaker and lawgiver of Pennsylvania, was standing before him with his hat on, when his Majesty took off his own, and remained uncovered before his demure visitor. "Friend Charles," said the latter, "why dost thou not keep on thy hat?" "'Tis the custom of this place," replied the witty monarch, "for only one person to remain covered at a time."

To Gregorio Leti, a native of Milan, who acquired some celebrity as an historian, he one day remarked, "I hear, Leti, you are writing the History of the Court of England." The author answered in the affirmative. "You must take care," said the King, "that your work gives no offence." "Sir," replied Leti, "I will do what I can; but, if a man were as wise as Solomon, he would scarcely be able to avoid giving some offence." "Why, then," rejoined Charles, with his usual pleasantry, "be as wise as Solomon: write proverbs—not histories."[1]

[1] Grainger, Vol. vi. p. 45.

CHAPTER XII.

Despondency of the King.—The Popish Plot.—Confederacy of Tong and Oates.—Their astounding Revelations.—The Packet of letters.—Motives of Lord Danby.—Examination of Oates before the Council.—His marvellous statements.—Meeting of Parliament.—Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.—Consternation produced by that event.—Bedloe, a new actor in the Plot.—The Queen accused of high treason by Oates.—Design to ruin the Duke of York.—Impeachment of Danby.—Execution of Coleman and others.—The Duke retires to Brussels.—Bill for disabling him from inheriting the Crown.—Prorogation of Parliament.—The King tolerates Shaftesbury.—Rebellion in Scotland.—Persecution of the Catholics.—Acquittal of Sir G. Wakeman.—The King's troubles.—His dangerous illness.—Return of his Brother.—Disobedient conduct of Monmouth.—The Black Box.—Shaftesbury's proceedings against the Duke of York.—Conduct of the Duchess of Portsmouth.—The Exclusion Bill.—Dangerfield and the Meal-Tub Plot.—Enmity of Shaftesbury towards the Queen.—Bill of Limitation.—Trial and execution of Lord Stafford.

AT the commencement of the year, 1678, great dissatisfaction and discontent reigned throughout the nation. The licentiousness and profligacy existing at Court formed a theme of public reprehen-

sion. The Duke of York was now an avowed Catholic. His late wife had died in that persuasion, and he had recently married a Popish Princess. The Queen was also a Catholic, but no blame could be attached to her on this account, for she had been brought up in that faith; and the King himself was more than suspected to be one. His favourite mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland, had also become a convert to the Romish Church. The cry of "No Popery" resounded throughout the length and breadth of the land; and the people were ready to devour with an eager ear and give credence to any rumours, however strange and improbable, tending to implicate any persons known to be of the Catholic religion.

Such was the state of things at the time of the breaking out of the famous Popish plot—an event which excited a most extraordinary sensation, and rendered the present year one of the most memorable in the annals of England. The circumstances attending this deep-laid conspiracy have often been discussed by able historians; but, as they form essential links in the personal history of Charles II., we cannot pass them by unnoticed.

The first information of this plot was brought to the King at Windsor in August, by a man named Kirby, a broken merchant,[1] who accosted him while taking one of his usual walks in the park. "Sire," said he, "keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this

[1] Miss Strickland states that he worked in the King's laboratory.—*Queens of England*, Vol. viii. p. 407.

very walk." Startled by this communication, the King questioned Kirby, and was referred for further information to one Dr. Tong, a clergyman, who desired to come privately in the night, otherwise the Papists, who, he said, were the contrivers of the plot, would knock him on the head. This person, being introduced to the King, gave him a packet of papers, disclosing the particulars of a plot affecting his life, the Protestant religion, and the present government. In these papers, which the King delivered to Danby, the Lord Treasurer, to examine, it was pretended that not only were his own subjects implicated in this conspiracy, but that it was encouraged by Louvois, the minister of Louis XIV., Père la Chaise, his confessor, and Don John of Austria; that, the better to accomplish their purpose, the parties designed to burn the city of London, and raise a rebellion in Scotland and Ireland; and that one Titus Oates had obtained a knowledge of the conspiracy by counterfeiting himself a Papist, and gaining admission among the Jesuits, though he was still a Protestant in his heart. This man, the confederate of Tong, was the son of an Anabaptist weaver and preacher, and bore a very bad character.

The Lord Treasurer desired to see something under the hands of those who were accused; because the informer pretended that they still entrusted him with the greatest secrets, and even with their letters. After some delay, he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, telling him that, if he would send to the post-office, and intercept certain letters directed to Mr. Bedingfield, the Duke

of York's confessor, they would convince him of the truth of all he had said.

It chanced that the Treasurer was not at Windsor when this note arrived, and that Bedingfield, passing the post-office, just as the mail came in, called for his letters himself, and had a thick packet delivered to him, containing five, signed Whitbread, Fenwick, Ireland, Blundel, and Fogarty. The four first, being Jesuits, he knew, and soon perceived that the letters were not written by them. Finding treasonable expressions in them all, he immediately carried them to the Duke of York, and the Duke to the King, and urged his brother to institute an investigation into the matter; but, through the wilful delay of the Lord Treasurer, who hoped to employ this conspiracy, when Parliament met, to screen himself from their displeasure, which he apprehended, by directing their attention another way, nothing was done in the business. In the meantime, Oates and Tong, anxious to give every publicity to the affair, went before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the magistrate, to whom we have already alluded,[1] and deposed, on oath, to the statements already shown to the King, producing a list of persons whom he denounced as conspirators, among whom was Coleman, late secretary to the Duchess of York.

Shortly before the King went to Newmarket, Oates was summoned before the Council, when he repeated all he had deposed to before the magistrate, adding that the Jesuits were determined to shoot the King,

[1] See p. 342 of the present volume.

whom they called "the black bastard," with silver bullets, on which the Duke of York was to be offered the Crown, on condition of his extirpating the Protestant religion; and that, if he rejected these terms, he was to be immediately poisoned, or assassinated.

It was soon discovered that all the letters were counterfeit. Sir William Jones, the Attorney-General, told the Duke that he was persuaded, from a comparison of Oates's narrative and the letters, that he wrote every one of them himself; and, as they were not produced at the trials which followed, that circumstance is a demonstration that the law officers of the Crown regarded them as forgeries.

Oates asserted before the Council, that he was an agent for carrying on the designs of the Jesuits not only in England but also in France and Spain, where Don John had admitted him to his presence, and where he had seen money told out for Sir George Wakeman to poison the King. When his Majesty asked "what sort of man Don John was?" he said "that he was lean, tall, and black;" whereas both the King and Duke knew him to be short, fat, and well-complexioned, though he had brown hair. When Oates was afterwards blamed by Kirby for so gross a blunder, he replied, by way of excuse, that "he might well give a wrong description of a man he had never seen in his life."

There cannot be a greater proof that this plot was chiefly levelled at the Duke than the injurious expressions dispersed through Oates's narratives and informa-

tions. He made no scruple of calling the Duke "a rascal, a Papist, and a traitor: he shall be hanged," says he, "and I hope to live to see it: we will have no more regard for him than if he were a scavenger of Kent Street: he hoped to have him at the bar of the House of Commons, where there were many better men than he: if the devil has a hotter place in hell than another, he hoped he would bestow it upon him."[1] Such was the temper of the times as to suffer so infamous a person to use such expressions against the King's own brother, and a Prince who, were it not for his religion, would have been the idol of the people.

The King himself was so fully apprized of the villany from the beginning, that he intended to have nipped it in the bud, and hindered it from being made public, which he said would alarm all the kingdom, and put thoughts of killing him into men's heads who had no such thoughts before, had he not been diverted from it by the Treasurer, who, foreseeing a storm gathering against himself, hoped to elude the Parliament's displeasure, by laying this pretended conspiracy before the House of Commons as soon as they met, which, otherwise, might have been fully sifted, and the forgery detected by the Council before the Sessions, had not that lord industriously delayed it. But the people were so ready to take fire at the least rumour of a Popish conspiracy that, when it was communicated to the two Houses of Parliament, "they catched at it with such avidity, that all the contradictions, improbabilities,

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 522.

and even impossibilities of the narration were swallowed with greediness," and the factious party, which was already but too much bent against the Duke, were overjoyed to find themselves possessed of so favourable a conjuncture for working his utter ruin.[1]

The first step of the Parliament was to petition the King to enforce the penal laws against Catholics. Yielding to the current, he issued a Proclamation for banishing all popish priests, with the single exception of those belonging to the Queen's establishment. On the 2nd of November, Lord Shaftsbury moved in the House of Peers that the Duke might be removed from all councils and public affairs. The King advised his brother to give way to the storm, and to abstain from any further participation in public business. But when, in a few days, (Nov. 8,) the House voted another address that his Royal Highness should withdraw from his Majesty's person, as well as his councils, the King thought it necessary to check their career. He went, therefore, next day, to the House; and, sending for the Commons, told them, among other things, that he would pass any Bills which they might devise for the support of the Protestant religion, provided they abstained from impeaching the succession or the right of the crown in the true line. The King's hearty defence of his brother somewhat abated the zeal of the Duke's enemies, so that when the Bill for disabling Papists came to be discussed, a clause was added to exempt the Duke from the penalty of that act.

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 522-3.

Oates was then rewarded with a pension of £1,200 a-year for his information, encouraged to denounce every Catholic Peer, and was regarded by the Parliament and the people in the light of a hero, who had performed some brilliant achievement for the benefit of his country.

A short time before this, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the same magistrate before whom Oates and Tong had made their depositions, had been missing from his house for some days, when his body was found transfixed by his own sword, in a ditch near Primrose Hill.

The death of Godfrey created a most extraordinary sensation, and an immense concourse of persons thronged the streets of the metropolis, to witness his funeral. It was universally believed that he had been murdered by the Papists; but there does not appear the shadow of a reason for this supposition, since they could have nothing to gain by his death, the cause of which has, from those days till the present, ever remained a mystery.

The Duke, in his Memoirs, assumes it as a fact, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey laid violent hands upon himself, being terrified with the apprehensions of having committed a sort of misprision, by not divulging Oates' and Tong's informations, which he had treated as a ridiculous story, heightened by the threats of those who were displeased with him for endeavouring to stifle the plot, and most of all, by his constitutional melancholy.

The fearful revelation of Oates and Tong, coupled with the mysterious death of Godfrey, dressed up with

every possible horror, were fully credited, and excited universal alarm and consternation throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people, especially of the weak and superstitious, were filled with apprehension, and they beheld imaginary armies of Papists, on their march to destroy the entire Protestant population of the country.

When the King issued his Proclamation offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of the manner in which Godfrey came by his death, in the first week of November, a new actor, named William Bedloe, appeared upon the scene. He was a convicted felon, and had only just been discharged from Newgate. He went to one Brewer, and told him, that if he could procure him a description of Godfrey, he had no doubt that he might obtain the reward; and he had many consultations with his brother, who had been his partner on like occasions, how to manage that affair. "The matter was soon concerted; and, on the 8th of November, he deposed before the Lords that Godfrey was murdered in Somerset House, by direction of Lord Bellasis; that he himself, with some Jesuits, had decoyed the Knight into the Court, where others suddenly rushing upon him out of a door, forced him into a house, and then murdered him; that his body remained there two days, and was at last carried to the place where it was found. He made a long narration of the manner, which amazed people at first; but, upon recollection, the King remembered that he was at Somerset House himself at the very time he swore the murder was committed. This

made his Majesty doubt the truth of what he said, and he sent the Duke of Monmouth with Bedloe to Somerset House, to show him the place where everything passed. When the Duke returned, he told the King, the room where Bedloe said he saw the body lie was the Queen's back-stairs, which, being the common passage for all the Queen's servants, the place through which her meat was carried, and where the footmen constantly waited, confirmed the King in the belief of its being all a fiction; besides, his having been there at that time himself made it impossible that a man should be assaulted in the Court, murdered, and hurried into the back-stairs, when there was a sentry at every door, a foot company on guard, and yet nobody saw or knew anything of it."[1]

The King, therefore, at first, refused to prolong Bedloe's pardon, though earnestly solicited by the House of Commons.[2]

The public apprehensions were soon diverted from the plot to the religion of those who were said to be the authors of it. The factious persons by whom the affair was so industriously fostered, now began to devise how to disappoint the Duke of York of the succession.

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 527-8. See also Burnet, Macpherson, Lingard.

[2] He was not long permitted to pursue his iniquitous career. In August following, death freed the world of one of the greatest villains who ever came into it. In his dying moments, he confessed to the falsehood of his most serious charges against the Queen and Duke of York. Rapin. Lingard.

Their first project, to this end, was to place the King in a capacity to have children of his own to succeed him: there were no hopes by the Queen, and the readiest way to get rid of her was to implicate her in the plot. Accordingly, on the 25th of November, Oates, emboldened by the success of his villany, repeated before the Council what he had said the preceding night to his Majesty;—that the Queen was privy to the whole design; and that he had heard her say in Somerset House, she was resolved to assist Sir George Wakeman, her physician, in poisoning the King, for the injuries he had done her.[1] A Mrs. Elliot, the wife of a gambling gentleman of the King's bedchamber, had previously been sent to his Majesty, as from Oates, to communicate this information; and, when the King refused to believe it, she replied, "she thought he would have been glad to part with the Queen on any terms."[2] The King indignantly replied, "I will never suffer an innocent lady to be oppressed."[3] Lords Ossory and Bridgewater were then sent with Oates to Somerset House, that he might point out the place where the Queen had spoken the words which he attributed to her. He directed them first to the guard-room, then to the privy chamber, out of which he said there went up a pair of back-stairs into a green-room; though there were no such stairs thereabout, nor any large room in that story.

Meanwhile, the party labouring to ruin the Duke,

[1] Lords' Journals. North's Examen of the Plot, &c.
[2] Memoirs of James II.
[3] Lingard. Journals of the Lords, &c.

resolved also to effect the removal of the Lord-Treasurer, whom they suspected, though falsely, to be a warm friend to his Royal Highness; and an accidental circumstance facilitated this design. The King, dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Montague, who had been his ambassador in France, ordered his papers to be seized, on the pretext that, while abroad, he had several private meetings with the Pope's nuncio. Montague, suspecting the King's intention, had previously placed in security the papers which his Majesty designed to take; and with this he acquainted the House of Commons, of which he was a member, intimating, at the same time, that they contained matters of grave importance. This was sufficient to excite curiosity, and to cause them to be sent for immediately. They related to the secret negociations with the French King, which Montague had carried on under the sole direction of Danby. This discovery led to the impeachment of the latter, on the 6th of March following; and, though there was not evidence enough to convict him, still he had to undergo several years' imprisonment, anda long contest with the formalities of Westminster Hall, and the privileges of Parliament, before he got clear of the accusation.

Meanwhile, the managers of the plot, by promises of reward, secure protection, and a weekly pension for such as should make further discoveries, could not fail to obtain a host of informers. Miles Prance, a silversmith, Dugdale, Dangerfield, Smith, and a numberless crew of malignant wretches were procured for this service.

Provided with so strong a body of witnesses, they entered upon action. The first object of their fury was Coleman, who had been secretary to the Duchess of York, but was dismissed from that situation by command of the King.

His papers were seized, and, on investigation, it was found that he had been for many years engaged in a traitorous correspondence. Coleman then surrendered himself. Although Oates had declared in Council that he had never seen him before, still he appeared as a witness against him at his trial, on the 27th of November, when Coleman was condemned, and executed on the 3rd of December. Ireland, Pickering, and Grove were also condemned, and the House of Commons impeached the Lords Stafford, Arundel of Wardour, Bellasis, Powis and Petre. On the 28th of November, Bedloe gave in his depositions against her Majesty, in writing to the House of Commons; and Oates, in a loud, drawling tone, exclaimed, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catharine, Queen of England, of high treason;" which declaration excited an extraordinary sensation among the members, some of whom proposed that the Queen should be committed to the Tower, while others advised the milder course of recommending the King to remove her and her household from Whitehall.

Although he had been any thing but a good husband, the King determined to protect his wife in the hour of peril, observing to Burnet, "that, considering his great

[1] Lords' Journals.

faultiness towards her, he thought it would be a horrid thing to abandon her."

The King, deeming it high time to stop their career, prorogued Parliament, and dissolved it on the 24th of January, 1679. Such was the end of that Parliament which had sat for seventeen years, and thence received the name of the Long Parliament.

On the morning before its prorogation, Prance, who had been previously denounced by Oates, and committed to Newgate, but who, on the promise of pardon, had been induced to confess the charges against him, and give up his accomplices, desired to be brought to the King, fell on his knees before him, begged pardon for what he had done, and, in the presence of Chiffins and Captain Richardson, declared that all he swore about the plot, and Godfrey's death, was false, for he knew nothing of the murder.[1] But he afterwards contradicted this solemn recantation; and, on his evidence chiefly, were Green, Bery, and Hill, three of the Queen's servants, condemned and executed for the murder of Godfrey. Ireland, though he proved that he was travelling in Staffordshire when Oates deposed that he was in France, was also condemned (Feb. 10). Whitbread and Fenwick were arraigned at the same time, but as Oates was the only witness against them, Bedloe having declared that he had nothing to say about them, they were remanded to prison. Having, however, refreshed his memory, he soon afterwards came forward as their accuser, and, on his evidence,

[1] Macpherson. Journals of the Lords. Lingard.

they were condemned and hanged. Such, in short, was the prepossession of all ranks of people in favour of this plot, that the most absurd improbabilities, the grossest contradictions, the most obvious falsehoods, the infamy and manifest perjury of the witnesses, and the asseverations of dying men, made not the least impression in behalf of the accused, either upon Parliament, judge, or jury.

It now became evident to the friends of the Duke that it would be impossible for him to remain much longer at Court; and the Lords in the Tower deputed Lady Powis to beg his Highness to retire to some foreign country. Sensible of his danger, the Duke submitted his case to the decision of the King, who desired him to withdraw for a time from Court. In compliance with this command, the Duke and Duchess left London on the 4th of March, and proceeded, by way of the Hague, to Brussels. He was, however, not permitted to take with him his younger daughter, Anne.

The new Parliament met on the 6th of March, 1679, when very warm debates took place on the subject of excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. His Highness, however, had a powerful support in the King, who forthwith called a Council, and expressed himself on the subject with great energy and vehemence. He rebuked the Duke of Monmouth for the share he well knew that he had in those contrivances, and said that nothing but the hopes he had of reclaiming him, prevented his falling out with him for good. To put a stop to these proceedings, he offered

the two Houses (April 30) to agree to any law they could devise for the security of religion, provided the descent in the right line were also secured. He consented that, in case of a Popish successor, all appointments, spiritual and temporal, should be given to Protestants, and that none of the latter should be displaced but by consent of the Parliament.

The debates on this subject were resumed on the following Sunday; and, on the 15th of May, the Commons voted to bring in a Bill for disabling the Duke of York from inheriting the crown of England; and, that if His Majesty should come to an untimely death, they would revenge it on the Papists. Such was the King's solicitude for his brother on this occasion, that, while the Bill was passing the House of Commons, he took the trouble to speak himself to almost every one of the Lords to dissuade him from assenting to it, when it came before them, declaring that, "be the consequence what it might, he would not suffer such a villanous Bill to pass."

When the news of this vote, and of the King's firm attachment to him, was brought to the Duke, he addressed a letter to his brother, wherein he denounced the ambitious conduct of the Duke of Monmouth, as well as the hostile proceedings towards him of Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Gerrard, in the House of Commons.

The King, who was fixed in his resolution not to desert his brother, declared, on receiving this letter, that he would turn Armstrong out of all his posts, and

proceed with the like severity against all who should show themselves hostile to his brother in the present debates, adding that he would make the Duke of Monmouth the last man in the kingdom if he persevered in those ways. He thanked his brother for his advice, assured him that he would stick firmly to him and to himself; and repeated that he would never suffer such a villanous Bill to pass; and he was confident that, if it did pass the House of Commons, it would be thrown out by the Lords with indignation, as it deserved.

On the 27th of May, the day fixed for the trial of the five Catholic Lords, they were brought to Westminster Hall for the purpose. The Commons objected to the presence of the Bishops at the trials; the Peers alleged that it was usual for the Bishops to be present, but to withdraw when judgment was given. The Bishops proposed to withdraw during the trials, with liberty to enter their protest; but the Commons, not satisfied with this, insisted on having the right itself decided, and also the validity of Lord Danby's pardon determined, before they would move one step further. Charles, to put an end to this dispute, prorogued Parliament (May 27) to the 14th of August. "The King never spoke better, nor with greater energy," says the Duke, "though his speech was extempore, as well as his resolution. This was so little expected, it struck them like thunder, and left them all at a gaze, not knowing what way to turn themselves, nor what measures to take."[1]

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 554.

His Majesty had thought it necessary to re-model his Council, and to place Lord Shaftesbury at the head of it, in quality of President, thinking to prevent him from doing harm by keeping him in his service. Knowing him to be a professed enemy to his brother, the King disregarded his opposition to motions made in the Duke's favour; but, as he was seconded in many things by Halifax, Sunderland, Essex, and others, he contrived to keep the Duke abroad, in spite of his desire to return. The King himself declared that this was not to be thought of, till after the trials of the imprisoned Lords.

Some desperate fanatics in Scotland having murdered the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and broken out into open rebellion, it was necessary that some troops should be sent against them. This circumstance might have furnished the King with a good pretext for recalling the Duke; but, instead of that, he had the mortification to see that honour conferred on his greatest enemy, Monmouth, to whom that command was given. The business being soon over, he returned in triumph, leaving a high reputation in Scotland for the clemency and indulgence procured by his means, and was treated on his way back, in many places, with the title of Highness, which he was far from taking amiss. The King received him with great tenderness, and Sir Thomas Armstrong experienced no marks of disfavour, though Charles ceased not to complain of him.

On the 20th of June, the five Jesuits, Whitbread, Harcourt, Fenwick, Gavan, and Turner, who had been

convicted on the evidence of Oates, Bedloe, and Dugdale, were executed at Tyburn; and, on the 14th of July, Mr. Langhorne, a barrister of the Inner Temple. In the country, the Catholics suffered grievous persecution by the seizure of the third of their estates, or the compulsory payment of £20 a month, and the priests by tedious imprisonments: Poskett and Thwing suffered death at York, and Plesington at Chester. New disclosures continued to be made; and there were attempts to implicate the Duke, and even the Queen, in the conspiracy. The trial and acquittal of her physician, Sir George Wakeman, did indeed indirectly clear the latter from the aspersion.[1] The King was still adverse to the return of the Duke, conceiving that it would raise up new enemies, especially if the plot were not at an end; for, though what they had to say against him, out of Coleman's letters, was weak and frivolous, yet he writes, "I should be very unwilling to have a question brought upon the stage, whether or no you should be secured, and you at the same time present, considering how easy it is to have false witnesses, till Oates and Bedloe have their due."[2]

During the present summer, the King passed much of his time at Windsor, occasionally amusing himself in fishing and taking solitary walks. A marked change

[1] Finding himself exposed to further persecution, he deemed it prudent to go abroad; his flight was interpreted as a proof of his guilt by those who still believed in the conspiracy.

[2] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 562.

had come over him. He was now sad and dejected, and bewailed "the miserable condition of his affairs."[1] He found that he was no longer the idol of his people, and his reign, though bright at its commencement, was now dimmed by many a darkening shadow. The late plots had produced a feverish excitement throughout the nation. The Queen and his brother were surrounded with enemies, and the constant rivalry between the latter and his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, as well as the continual jealousies and quarrels at his Court, sadly perplexed him. His imperious mistresses, the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth, ruled him with a rod of iron, and rendered him their tool and slave. All his true friends had forsaken him, and, to use his own words, he had "none left with whom he could so much as speak in confidence."[2] The society of his evil associates no longer afforded him any pleasure. He had led a depraved and dissolute life, and he clearly saw that he had lost the golden opportunities by which he might have profited. There is no man who has not one true friend that he may consult on all occasions; but even that one must have condemned him—"the small still voice" which never leads him astray.

It was probably owing to these combined circumstances that Charles was taken so ill at Windsor, on the 22nd of August, that his life was considered in danger. He thought nothing of it at first; but, finding himself worse and more feverish, after physic and letting-blood, he ordered Lord Sunderland to send off

[1] Sir W. Temple's Works, Vol. II. p. 492. [2] Ibid.

an express to the Duke, who was at Brussels, to come to him immediately, with as small a retinue as possible, to leave the Duchess behind, and to be in readiness to return whenever it might be thought proper. He was directed, likewise, to give out both at Brussels and in England, that he had taken the journey upon his own motion; "so fearful was the King to avoid censure and to shift blame from his own shoulders to those of any other person."[1]

It was currently reported that the King had been poisoned, and a great number of persons were consequently attracted to the palace. "If the Privy-Councillors," writes Lady Sunderland, "had not urged their authority to keep the crowds out of the King's chamber, he had been smothered. The bed-chamber women could do nothing to prevent it."[2]

On receipt of the King's message, the Duke set out on the 8th of September from Brussels, accompanied only by Lord Peterborough, Mr. Churchill, and a barber. He took the precaution to disguise himself on the journey; and, landing at Dover, proceeded by way of London, to Windsor, where he arrived by seven o'clock on the morning of the 12th, "just as his Majesty was shaveing, and was the first man that advertised him of his arrival."

The King received his brother very kindly; but the Duke of Monmouth, who, on the King's being taken ill, apprehending what might happen, had been most

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 565.

[2] Blencowe's Diary of the Times of Charles II.

urgent that the Duke of York should be desired not to stir, was surprised and confounded at his appearance. The King expressed such warm satisfaction in his presence that his brother began to hope that he would not part with him any more; but these hopes were short-lived; for, the next morning, he received a very significant recommendation to return to Brussels, with which he deemed it prudent to comply. The King at this time readily fell in with the advice which he received, to send away Monmouth, who, he learned with displeasure, had, when in Scotland, treated the insurgents as if he had more inclination to gain their friendship than to punish their rebellion; and he had also heard of his private meetings with Shaftesbury, Montague, and others who were antagonistic to the Court.

The resolution of sending the Duke of York back was far from gratifying to some of his old friends. Mr. Secretary Coventry thought fit to submit his reasons against it to the King; but, finding them of no avail, he urged the impolicy of placing the heir to the throne in the power of a foreign Prince, and suggested that, if he could not be allowed to stay in England, it would be more prudent to send him to Scotland. This design appeared so reasonable that Lord Sunderland and the King soon entered into it, and only desired that he would go back first to Brussels, to fetch the Duchess, and then proceed straight to Scotland. The Duke accordingly returned, and brought over the Duchess and his two daughters, Anne and Isabella, who had been permitted to pay a visit to the

Duke and Duchess, and to see their sister, the Princess of Orange; and, leaving the two Princesses at St. James's, he set out with the Duchess for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 4th of December.

The day after the Duke's departure from London, Monmouth again made his appearance there, and his return was hailed by his partizans with the ringing of bells, bonfires, and great rejoicings. He immediately applied for leave to see the King, who, as much surprised as displeased at his return, sent him word to leave the kingdom forthwith. Instead of obeying, he went to his lodgings in the Cockpit, and all those of his party flocked thither to him. The King, out of all patience, sent him this message, that "if he did not leave London immediately, and the kingdom the next day, he must not expect to see his face again;" and, as a further mark of his displeasure, he ordered a commission to be drawn out, appointing the Duke of Albemarle captain of the troop of Guards, in his room. Instead of going to Holland, Monmouth only retired to his house in Hedge Lane, and made repeated applications, but in vain, for permission to see the King, who adhered firmly to his resolution; and, finding him not less firm in his disobedience, he took from him the government of Hull, the Lieutenancy of the North Riding of Yorkshire and that of Staffordshire, so that he had no appointment left but that of Master of the Horse, of which he forbore to deprive him for some time, lest he should drive him to despair; but, soon

afterwards, he ordered this also to be managed by commissioners.

This severity made no impression upon Monmouth, who declared that, since the King had taken all from him, he would live upon his wife's fortune. He continued at the house where all the discontented party had free access to him; and, at one of their meetings in the city, they laid a plan to prove that the King was married to his mother, by means of a letter under his hand, owning her to be his wife, which letter they alleged to have been taken from her pocket when she was carried to the Tower. Mortified as the King was by the disobedience of Monmouth, he suffered him to remain at his house without molestation, but persisted in his resolution not to see him.

Meanwhile, the Duke of York, by his industry and application to public affairs, as well as by his affability, gained such general love and esteem in Scotland, that his enemies were disconcerted; and Shaftesbury, bewailing, as it were, the impotence of his malice, complained that the persecution of him in England had served only to make him reign in a manner in Scotland. But, if he made new friends in the one kingdom, his absence lost him old ones in the other. Indeed, the unsettled state of affairs in England caused many persons of consequence to fall off both from him and the King.

The Parliament had been prorogued to the 26th of January, and it was not intended that it should then

meet. As soon as the opposition had intelligence of this, all hands were at work to procure petitions to the King, praying that it might then assemble for the despatch of business. The King issued a Proclamation, declaring such petitions to be unlawful, and threatening the utmost severity against transgressors: but Shaftesbury and his party laughed at such menaces; he and nine other Lords presented a formal petition to that purpose. Notwithstanding this, and other petitions, the King resolved in council to prorogue Parliament till the 11th of November following. In the meantime, he placed sufficient garrisons in Portsmouth, Tilbury, Sheerness, and all places of strength, in case of an insurrection, which there was reason to apprehend from the proceedings of the Duke of Monmouth, who declared that he would not stir from London, alleging as his reason, "that he knew the King's life to be in danger; and, for his sake, he would not leave the kingdom, that he might be ready to revenge his death."[1]

On the 26th of January, 1680, the King prorogued Parliament, but in the first instance only till the 15th of April, and recalled the Duke of York to London, where he arrived on the 24th of February. Shaftesbury and his party, alarmed at his return, strove by all means in their power to keep up the irritation in the public mind against the Catholics. A story was devised concerning a black box, in which a contract of marriage between the King and Monmouth's mother was alleged to have been found. The King resolved

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 581-2.

to search this report to the bottom; and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, who was said to have seen the contract, being brought before the council, positively denied all knowledge of any such document. Charles now thought it right to publish a solemn declaration on the 3rd of June, contradicting the statement of his marriage with Mrs. Barlow.

Shaftesbury's next stroke was aimed directly against the Duke of York. On the 16th of June, accompanied by several Lords and Commoners, he went before the grand jury at Westminster; and, after descanting on the dangers of Popery, and inveighing against his Highness, he indicted him for being a recusant, accompanying the information with proof of his having heard mass, and desiring the jury to present him as such, that two-thirds of his estate might be seized. At the same time, he desired that the Duchess of Portsmouth also might be presented as a common nuisance. The formalities of law required some time before this matter could be brought to an issue in regard to the Duke; but the lady was frightened into a reconciliation with her pretended prosecutors, and that so effectually that she became a patroness to them, giving them private meetings, and particularly the Duke of Monmouth. To prove to her new friends her zeal in their service, she seconded, with all her influence, those councils which recommended the removal of the Duke again from Court; alleging, as a reason of her coldness to him, that the Duchess had not paid her so much respect as she thought her due.[1]

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 591.

Burnet's account of the conduct of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was hearty for the exclusion, fully corroborates this statement. Shaftesbury, by seeming to declare war against this mercenary woman, frighted her into an alliance with him against the Duke; and she, having the greatest influence over the King, was the enemy that, of all others, wrought his royal highness the greatest mischief.[1]

On the 18th of August, the King in Council declared that the Parliament should assemble on the 21st of October; and the ministers, fearful of meeting it, if the Duke remained in London, prevailed upon his Majesty to send him back to Scotland. The Duke asserts that they had consulted and agreed upon this plan with the Duchess of Portsmouth long before they acquainted the King with it; "and, to prepare him by degrees, and bring him over to their opinion, they represented his Majesty's condition to be much worse than in reality it was; that the hearts of the people were quite alienated from him; that the fleet would abandon him; and that the very guards themselves began to be poisoned, and could not be depended on. This was told the King by each separately, as if it were their single opinion, with which he was so terrified, he could hold out no longer, but at last agreed to send the Duke away."[2]

There can be no doubt that the Duchess of Portsmouth had made her conditions with Shaftesbury and

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 592.
[2] Ibid. Vol. i. p. 599.

the factious party. She had been several times to London that summer from Windsor, in one of which journeys she had a conference with Lord Howard of Escrick, which, when the King told her of, she said it was to bring him over; but it soon appeared who was brought over: for, besides her picking quarrels with the Duchess [of York] that she was not so kind to her as formerly, she took occasion to complain of the conduct of the Duke during the King's late sickness.

The day after the Duke's departure, being the 21st of October, the Parliament met. The King, in his speech, desired them not to meddle with the succession, professing himself ready to concur with them in anything else for the security of religion; and, therefore, reminded them to proceed in the discovery of the plot and the trials of the five lords in the Tower.

The Commons paid little attention to the recommendations of the King; and, on the 11th of November, brought in a Bill for excluding the Duke from the throne, and rendering him incapable of inheriting or possessing the Crown of England or Ireland, upon which long and warm debates ensued.

During the progress of this Bill, the King sent a message to the House, repeating what he had said in his speech concerning the succession, which he told them he was determined never to alter.

The Commons having passed the Bill, it was carried up to the Peers by Lord William Russell, in opposition to the sentiments of many of the members, who were against its going up then, because they thought the

House of Lords not sufficiently prepared. However, having got it into his hands, his impetuous temper and exceeding ardour hurried him on with such violence that he ran away with it in spite of all opposition: so, when they could not withhold him, a great number of members accompanied him and it, and as soon as it was delivered gave a mighty shout, "which tumultuous and barbarous way of proceeding had too great a resemblance to '41 not to convince all judicious persons that this would prove a prelude of the same tragedy, if not timely prevented."[1]

Just before the Bill was brought up to the Lords, a man named Dangerfield, a convicted felon, was introduced to the House as having an atrocious treason to reveal. This was called the Meal-Tub Plot, from the place where some papers relating to it were found. He accused the Duke of having proposed to him to kill the King; and, to the end that this charge might strike the more terror into the Duke's friends, he said that Lord Peterborough was present, and that the Lord Privy Seal was acquainted with the design. When the Bill was first brought into the House of Commons, Dangerfield had made the same charge that he now repeated; Dugdale, too, had preferred violent accusations against the Duke; and one Francisco de Feria said that he had been hired to kill Shaftesbury, Oates, and others. But, as that House needed no such provocatives, this evidence was sealed up for a more pressing occasion.

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 617.

After the first reading, the Lords went into a Committee, in which the question whether the Bill should be rejected or not was debated with great warmth. Lord Halifax particularly distinguished himself in this debate, during which he spoke fifteen or sixteen times in opposition to the Bill, which was ultimately rejected by a majority of thirty-three.

Lord Halifax, who had so signalized himself against the Bill of Exclusion, immediately proposed one of banishment, and that for life; but Shaftesbury, laughing at this proposal as a thing which could not succeed, said there remained no other means but to have the Queen divorced, and the King to marry a Protestant consort, which was seconded by the Earls of Essex and Salisbury and Lord Howard of Escrick.[1] The King was indignant at this proceeding, and rejected it with such horror, that he went himself from man to man, as he had done the day before, in reference to the Duke, that he might, if possible, stifle this wicked project also, in its birth.

The enemies of the Duke, though they could not decide in what way to renew their attacks upon him, yet fell upon those who had lately shown themselves friendly to his interest. On this ground, they impeached Sir Edward Seymour, for having misapplied £600,000, granted for building thirty ships, and voted an address to the King for removing Lord Halifax from his presence and council, alleging as a pretext,

[1] Lords' Journals.

that he had advised the late dissolution. Lord Chief-justice Scroggs had fallen under their displeasure for having discharged the grand jury in June, four or five days earlier than usual, by which means the intended presentment against the Duke was prevented. He was therefore voted an obstructor of public justice, and a violator of his oath, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Sir Edward Seymour had the address and eloquence to ward off the blow aimed at him. Lord Halifax offered to withdraw; but the King would not suffer it; and, though he was obliged to remove Scroggs from his office, he afterwards granted him a pension.

To keep up the odium against the Duke till his enemies were ready for a new attack, they gave great encouragement to witnesses to come forward against him. One Lewis deposed that a Mrs. Cellier had engaged him to burn the ships at Chatham; that the French were then to land; that he was to be joined by Grove in an attempt to kill the King; and, that for these and other services of the like nature, the Duke would stand by him and be his paymaster. One Zeile appeared also, and concurred in this evidence, on which the Attorney-General indicted Mrs. Cellier for high treason.

It was the practice of the House of Commons, on the first appearance of any witness, to apply to the King for a pardon and maintenance for him. Having done so for these two, the King replied, by Secretary Jenkins, that he would grant them pardons for all

crimes, perjury excepted. The House was not satisfied with this, alleging that though witnesses were always sworn to tell the whole truth, it might not be proper for them at certain times to tell all they knew. The King, however, would not change his resolution, though the Attorney-General, who had to draw the pardons, was obliged to stretch his authority in another point to give satisfaction to both Houses. Having been censured for not drawing Dangerfield's pardon full enough, he went to Lewis, and asked whether he was guilty of any other crimes than those mentioned in the King's warrant, namely, treasons, misprisions, felonies, outlawries, &c. The fellow truly replied that he was guilty of forgery too, which was not expressed there; care was then taken to have it inserted, and then all was right; for it mattered not how wicked they were, or had been, provided that they were made legal witnesses, and that their past villanies might not prevent them from committing more.

The Duke's friends, foreseeing the storm that was likely to be raised against him, made another attempt to induce him to change his religion, but with as little effect as before. The grand jury at Westminster was now directed to indict him again as a Popish recusant, which, though it could not have any immediate effect, would be preparatory to an impeachment; and, in the meantime, a Bill of limitation was brought into the House of Lords, containing clauses not less prejudicial to him than what had lately been rejected—that, in

case of the Duke's accession to the crown, the whole power should be vested in a council of forty-one; that all treaties should be negociated by commissioners taken out of this council, by which Ireland also was to be governed; and that it should have authority to fill up all vacancies, or to dismiss from employments, subject to the approbation of Parliament; that the Duke should be banished during the King's life, to some place 500 miles distant from England, to forfeit his revenue if he came nearer, and his life, if he returned to any of the King's dominions; and that whosoever harboured him in England and Ireland, should be guilty of high treason. But the further prosecution of this measure was postponed on account of the trial of Lord Stafford.

This nobleman had been selected out of the five then in the Tower, as the first victim, under the idea that his age and infirmities would render him least capable of a vigorous defence. Three witnesses were produced against him, Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. These wretches, among other grave charges, accused him of conspiring to murder the King. His trial lasted six days; and all that malice could invent was employed to take away the life of this innocent man, because he was a Catholic. "He was condemned by fifty-four out of the eighty-six Peers who sat as judges, on testimony that ought not to be taken on the life of a dog."[1] To his eternal disgrace, Charles

[1] Evelyn's Diary.

signed the warrant for the execution of this unfortunate nobleman, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 29th of December. This was happily the last blood shed on account of the pretended Popish Plot. So terminated that year of horrors, 1680.

CHAPTER XIII.

Influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth.—Her league with Shaftesbury.—The Duke of York indicted for Popery.—Parliament removed to Oxford.—A new Plot.—Arrest of Fitzharris.—The Bill of Exclusion.—The King opens Parliament.—Its sudden dissolution.—Execution of Fitzharris.—Lord Howard of Escrick.—Bishop Plunket executed.—Trial of Shaftesbury.—Visit of the Prince of Orange.—The Scottish Parliament.—The Earl of Argyle convicted of high treason.—Escapes to Holland.—The Duke recalled to Court.—Pilkington indicted and fined.—The Rye-House plot.—Trial and execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.—Hampden fined.—Mysterious death of Lord Essex.—Monmouth pardoned by the King.—Marriage of the Princess Anne.—Festivities on the Queen's birth-day.—Gambling at Court on Sunday.—The King's illness.—Attentions of his brother.—Charles dies in the Catholic faith.—His last moments.—James proclaimed.—Unseemly treatment of the late King's remains.—The royal funeral.—Suspicions of poison.—Important papers found in the King's strong box.—The old Palace at Whitehall.—Character of Charles II.

THE heads of the factious party, though elated with their victory, durst not proceed to the trials of the other noblemen, having found the Lords much more scrupulous than they expected. The pros-

pects of the Duke were not, on this account, at all improved, and he had not the least glimpse of hope from those who had most influence with the King. The Duchess of Portsmouth had of late paid great court to the Parliament men. She had placed herself near the Commons, dispensing her sweetmeats and her gracious looks among them; and, having formerly told the Duke to his face that the change of his religion was the cause of all his present evils, it was not to be doubted that she now used the like arguments with the King. Lord Sunderland not only concurred with Shaftesbury in all the proceedings against him and the Queen, but frequented the clubs of the party, and assured them, that if they would but persevere, the King would yield to the Exclusion Bill at last.

The Duchess of Portsmouth, who had need of money as well as protection, seconded the designs of Shaftesbury and his faction with all her credit. She was told that the House would not forget her among the reforms, and threatened to throw her into the scale of grievances. This they knew would frighten her entirely into their measures, to which she had already shown so great a disposition. Accordingly, she stuck at nothing to gain an interest among the Parliament men; the doors of her apartments were opened not only to many of the opposition party, but to Shaftesbury himself, who, in a jesting manner, boasted publicly of it; but others were so scandalized at this new alliance, that several were forced to clear themselves from the aspersion.[1]

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 645-6.

There was no end to projects against the Papists, some of them as wild as they were unnatural and cruel.

On the 10th of January, 1681, the Commons having a suspicion of the King's intention to prorogue Parliament, voted that whosoever advised the King against passing the Bill of Exclusion, was a betrayer of his Majesty and the Protestant religion, a promoter of French interests, and a pensioner of France. On the same day, the prorogation actually took place; and the King, resolving not to permit this Parliament, which had offered so many indignities in their speeches and addresses, to meet any more, he dissolved it on the 18th of January, appointing the new one to meet at Oxford on the 21st of March.

The enemies of the Duke made another attempt to convict him as a Papist, by a presentment at the Old Bailey; and the grand jury, upon the affidavit of Oates, that he had seen his Highness at mass, and take the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome, found it a true Bill. The Duke's friends, thinking it would not be safe for him to appear in London, chose rather to remove the matter by *certiorari* to the King's Bench; and, if it could not otherwise be eluded, to stop it by a *noli prosequi*, which they had no doubt the King would grant.

The preparations made on all sides for the meeting of the new Parliament at Oxford, looked as if the debates were to be managed rather by force than argument; for which reason, the King took care not only

to be accompanied by a considerable number of his guards, but had ordered the greatest part of Lord Oxford's regiment to be quartered on the road. He also left a strong body of men to overawe the city in his absence. The chief command of these was vested in Lord Craven.

Strenuous efforts had been made to dissuade the King from appointing Oxford for the place of meeting: Essex and several other Lords had even presented a petition against it, alleging that it was neither commodious nor safe; and that they should then be exposed to the swords of the Papists and their adherents. This argument, though it had no weight with the King, served the factious party with a pretext to come thither well-armed, and better attended than was usual on such occasions. That no industry might be wanting to raise a ferment, and keep up the hatred against the Duke, they had got up a new plot against the meeting of Parliament, on the information of Sir William Waller, a zealous partisan of the faction.

He told the King that one Fitzharris, an Irishman, had framed a malicious libel to alienate the people's affections from him, and that he had been encouraged to do this by the French ambassador; but he himself being acquainted with one Everard, who pretended to assist Fitzharris, was brought privately by him into the chamber of the latter, and thus made this discovery. Fitzharris was thereupon committed to prison, and a few days afterwards Sheriff Cornish acquainted the King that the prisoner denied what he was accused of, but

said that, if a pardon were granted him, he could divulge a plot of a more important nature than any yet mentioned. The two Secretaries were, in consequence, sent to examine him, and he deposed that M. Montecuculli, the French Ambassador, before he left England, had offered him £10,000 to kill the King; but, on his refusal, he still urged him to the undertaking, saying that it might easily be done at Madame Mazarine's by poison, when His Majesty was dining there. He said that the Duke of York was privy to this design, and that, as soon as the deed was done, an army was to come from France and Flanders to support his Royal Highness; that a great many Parliament-men were to be boiled to death to make a *sainte ampoule* to anoint him and the succeeding Kings of England at their coronation, and that money was raised in Italy by the Duchess of Modena's means for carrying on this design, to which she likewise was privy.

The King soon perceived the drift of this silly story, and was convinced that Parliament would interfere and make it a handle for pushing on the Bill of Exclusion. Before he left town, therefore, he ordered a commission of oyer and terminer to try Fitzharris forthwith for his libel, and directed the prosecution to be followed up with all possible expedition. After this, he went to Windsor; and, on the 14th of March, arrived with the Queen at Oxford.

Before Charles left London, the factious party had tempted him with money, and offered him £60,000 to sanction the Bill; but, finding that they could not

compass their end by composition, they resolved to carry it, if possible, with a high hand in Parliament.

On the 21st of March, the King opened the session by a speech in which he said that he could not depart from what he had so often said about the succession; but, to remove all reasonable fears arising from a Popish successor, if means could be devised that in such a case the administration of the government might be left in Protestant hands, he should be ready to listen to any such expedient, by which religion might be preserved and the monarchy not destroyed.

The first motion was for bringing in the Bill of Exclusion, but Mr. Birch, Mr. Hampden, and many of the most violent members objected to it, alleging that, as the King had offered to agree to some other expedient, it was but reasonable to listen at least to such an invitation. Just at this moment, the attention of the House was diverted to the affair of Fitzharris, whom they were resolved to wrest out of the King's hands by a Bill of impeachment. The King, however, persuaded the Lords to reject the impeachment, and leave him to the law, which so enraged the Commons, that they immediately passed a vote to this effect—that it was the undoubted right of the Commons to impeach either Peers or Commoners; that the refusal of the Lords to receive the impeachment was a manifest breach of government, and that, whatever court or judge should try Fitzharris, should be proceeded against as an enemy to the King and country. At the same time, they rejected all expedients with indignation and contempt,

and ordered the Bill of Exclusion to be brought in immediately.

This was on Saturday night; on Monday morning, the Exclusion Bill was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time. At this moment, the King sent for them to the House of Lords, and they found him, to their great surprise, in his robes. He told them that he perceived such animosities arising between the two Houses, that he saw no speedier way of appeasing them than by dissolving the Parliament, which he directed the Chancellor to do. Having beforehand ordered relays upon the road, he took coach immediately with the Queen, and they arrived that night at Windsor.

The factious party were astounded by this sudden measure, which, however, abated none of their malice against the Duke. The time was now come for removing the presentment against him by *certiorari* to the King's Bench, where they found means, contrary to custom, and the constant practice of the court, to raise arguments against granting it, by the assistance of a lawyer employed by Oates. The Duke's counsel were not prepared to answer reasons of which they had no notion, and which, of course, they were not prepared to answer; and their client would certainly have been convicted by means of this trick, if the court had not granted time to put in answers to the objections, and these proving satisfactory, the *certiorari* was at last obtained.

Notwithstanding the pressing remonstrances of the

Duke of York, the King would not permit him to return to Court; but, upon his application, the Princess Anne was allowed to go to him in Scotland. By the advice of many of the leading men in that country, the Duke had represented to the King it would be for his service and advantage that a Parliament should be summoned in that kingdom, and proposed himself to be his Commissioner. This plan was readily approved by his brother, who appointed the 28th of July for the meeting.

On the same day that the despatches on this subject were sent to Scotland, Fitzharris was brought to trial, in spite of any attempt to delay it by means of charges preferred by him against the Earl of Danby and some others, tending to implicate that nobleman in the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. This accusation appeared so ridiculous that the plea for delay was overruled. On the evidence of Waller and two other witnesses, the prisoner was convicted and executed.

Shaftesbury and his party still struggled hard to keep up the credit of the plot in England, but to no purpose. They, therefore, instigated three Irish witnesses to hire others to corroborate their testimony against the Queen, Lord Ormond, and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland; but their practices being discovered, they were imprisoned upon an action for subornation, and thus this contrivance also was stifled in its infancy.

Lord Howard of Escrick, one of the witnesses subpœnaed by Fitzharris on his trial, it appeared had other dealings with this man than he chose to mention.

No sooner was the latter condemned than his wife and maid accused that nobleman of having the greatest share in composing the libel, and affirming that most of it was written with his own hand. His lordship was accordingly apprehended and sent to the Tower, just before Fitzharris was executed.

The ministry, having now achieved a signal triumph, caused College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal against Popery, to be tried for high treason at Oxford; and, on the evidence of Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, and Smith, all perjured villains, who had before given evidence against the Catholics, the unfortunate man was condemned to death, and suffered accordingly.

On the same day that Fitzharris was executed, Bishop Plunket, Catholic Primate of Ireland, having been most falsely accused and condemned as guilty of that conspiracy, was also brought to the scaffold, which all who wished well to the King were sorry had been so hastily done; for, besides that his last speech convinced everyone of his innocence, Lord Shaftesbury the very next day was committed to the Tower, on the information of six Irish witnesses, who now turned round upon their former patron, and accused him of high treason. Five of these were Protestants; and, instead of being rescued, as he hoped, by the City, he was hooted at for a traitor as he went through it to the Tower.

On being brought to trial, as he could only be charged with words spoken so long ago as not to be within the Act, the grand jury rejected the indictment,

on which the bells were rung, bonfires made, and great rejoicings took place in the City. Mortified at the non-success of his machinations, on the 19th of November, the following year, he went privately down the river, and proceeded to Amsterdam, where he died soon afterwards, after attempting to excite an insurrection in London and other places.

In July, the Prince of Orange came over to confer with the King, and arrived at Windsor on the 24th. He urged him to call a Parliament, without which, as all the world knew, he could not obtain supplies, or be in a condition to aid his allies in opposing the designs of France upon Flanders. Charles urged, in reply, that a Parliament, if he called one, would be sure to insist on the Bill of Exclusion, or a limitation, which the Prince joined in deprecating. The Prince then desired that a conference might be held with the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors, which was done accordingly, and their request and reasons were fully answered, which put an end to that negociation; and, finding all his importunities fruitless, the Prince returned home with many protestations of affection and deference to the King.

The Parliament of Scotland, having met, passed an Act to assert the rights of succession, declaring that the Crown, by the fundamental laws of that kingdom, descended by lineal succession, according to proximity of blood, and that no difference in religion, or Act of Parliament, could divert or alter this right of succession and lineal descent of the Crown to the nearest heir.

The Duke's friends now renewed their solicitations

for his recall to Court, but it was strongly opposed by Lord Halifax; and Lord Hyde was sent to Edinburgh to tell him, in plain terms, that, unless he would conform, and go to church, he must not expect leave to return to London; that the King could support him no longer, but on that condition; and that, without his compliance on this point, both of them must be inevitably ruined. But the Duke, persisting in a constant refusal, Hyde left him, "with the comfortless view of being abandoned by all the world."[1]

The Parliament of Scotland had, among other regulations, framed a Test, the party taking which solemnly professed the Protestant religion, as established in the first year of James VI., and promised never to consent to any change or alteration contrary thereto, swore to uphold the King's supremacy, and to renounce the Covenant, &c. The Earl of Argyle, as a Privy-Councillor and a Commissioner of the Treasury, refused to take this Test, without this reservation, that it should not bind him up from making any alterations for the advantage of the Church and State. Upon this, he was committed, indicted, tried, and found guilty of treason; but, by direction of the King, the execution of the sentence was respited till further orders.

Argyle, however, having no confidence in the tender mercies of Charles, made his escape from prison by the assistance of his daughter, who obtained leave to see him. The Earl, having changed clothes with her footman, and carrying her train as she went out, passed

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 701.

undetected by the guards, and escaped to Holland.[1] Hereupon, as sentence had been pronounced, his arms were reversed, and other marks of dishonour put upon him, according to the custom and laws of the country, and some of the Council even proposed to have his daughter whipped through the streets of Edinburgh; but this the Duke prevented, saying, "that they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in his country."[2] On the intercession of Lord and Lady Lauderdale, the estate of the Earl was settled on his son, Lord Lorn.

The necessities of the King had long been so great, and the Parliament so refractory, that he had no way of relieving himself but by a private treaty with France, which was at length concluded. It was arranged that Louis should give him £50,000 every quarter, the first payment to be at the end of June, 1681, without any condition on the King's side but that of friendship; while the French, on their part, engaged not to disturb Flanders or Holland.

The Duchess of Portsmouth had of late courted the Opposition, when that party appeared likely to prevail. She had been a busy instrument in endeavouring to

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 710.

[2] In 1685, in consequence of the degraded and servile state of the Scottish people, Argyle determined to summon them to rise in defence of their lost liberties. He accordingly landed in Argyleshire, attended by some fugitives from Holland. He then contrived to raise a body of some 2,500 men, but was soon afterwards defeated by superior numbers, seized, taken to Edinburgh, and there publicly executed, as well as Rumbold and Ayloffe, two of his followers.

reconcile the Duke of Monmouth with the King; she had frequent interviews with Shaftesbury, Lord Howard, and others; and Lord Sunderland, after his dismissal from office, was every day at her apartments, till Charles positively forbade her to see him. At length, out of all patience with her double-dealing, he gave her so many marks of his displeasure, that it was believed he would have gone further, had he not already owned her son, the Duke of Richmond, in so public a manner.[1]

Having contrived to recover the good graces of the monarch, the Duchess very prudently resolved to avail herself of this circumstance, to secure a provision for herself, let what might happen hereafter, by raising a considerable sum of money, and placing it in a foreign country. The King's necessities prevented him from answering her expectations out of his revenue; she therefore prevailed upon him to transfer to her a rent-charge of £5,000 per annum, out of the Post-Office, for fifty years, promising his Highness an equivalent out of the hereditary excise. The Duke, though well aware that his revenue was so settled that no part of it could be alienated without an Act of Parliament, yet kept this knowledge to himself, and professed his readiness to accede to the proposal, though he believed that it could not be carried into execution without his personal presence in town. He calculated that, if the Duchess of Portsmouth were once convinced of this, she would move heaven and earth to bring about his recall.

The result was as he expected. The Duchess urged

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 723.

the matter with such effect before her departure for France, having been advised to use the waters of Bourbon for fits of the colic, to which she was subject, that the King sent word to his brother to meet him at Newmarket, intimating, at the same time, that he should take him back to London along with him. This was accordingly done. The Duke arrived in the beginning of March at Newmarket, and, contrary to the sentiments of his ministers, the two most influential of whom were Lord Halifax and Mr. Seymour, the King brought him to London.

On his arrival there, the Attorney-General had directions to prepare the requisite conveyance to the Duchess of Portsmouth; the obstacle to such a transfer, with which the Duke had been acquainted from the first, was now discovered, to the extreme disappointment both of the King and the Duchess. Her influence with Charles, after her return from France, was greater, if possible, than ever; and, as he could not resist her importunities, he made her a grant of £10,000 a quarter, till the sum required should be made up out of his private French fund, which till then had been kept a secret from her. The last of these quarterly payments she had not received at the time of his death.

The Duke having remained with the King till the 3rd of May, 1682, set out from Windsor, where the Court then was, for Scotland, to fetch his Duchess, who was *enceinte*. He chose to go by sea in the Gloucester frigate, which was lost, with about a hundred persons

on board, through the unskilfulness of Captain Ayres, who was afterwards tried and condemned.[1]

After making as little stay as possible in Edinburgh, the Duke returned by sea, notwithstanding his late disaster, with the Duchess, his daughter Anne, and the rest of his family, and arrived on the 27th of May at Whitehall, whither the King came on purpose from Windsor to meet them.

In 1683, the Duke began to call his enemies to account. He thought it necessary to terrify others by making an example of the late sheriff Pilkington, who having said, on the Duke's return, that he had fired the city, and was now come to cut their throats, he caused him to be indicted on the 8th of May, and the words being proved by two aldermen, the court assigned his Royal Highness £100,000 for damages.

On the 14th of June, the Rye-House plot was discovered, so called from the ancient mansion at the Rye, in Hertfordshire, on the road from Newmarket. At this house, which belonged to Rumbold, one of the conspirators, seditious meetings were held, and a project concerted for shooting the King and the Duke on their return from Newmarket, it being known that they had few attendants. A singular circumstance providentially occurred to preserve the royal brothers from the peril that awaited them. This was the sudden breaking out of a fire at the King's house at Newmarket, by which a great portion of it was destroyed, and the King and Duke were compelled to return to

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 731.

London, just two days before the period fixed on for their assassination.[1]

The conspirators designated the King "the Blackbird," from his swarthy complexion, and the Duke of York "the Goldfinch." This plot contemplated a general rising throughout England and Scotland, in which the Duke of Monmouth and other celebrated personages were implicated. Among these were Lord Russell and Hampden, who were arrested and thrown into prison. Lieutenant-Colonel Walcot, Hone, and Rouse, were condemned and executed. Lord Russell was shortly afterwards brought to trial. He made but a very feeble defence; and, although he did not deny the existence of the conspiracy, he solemnly protested that he never had entertained any design against the life of the King. On his being found guilty, the Earl of Bedford, his father, offered £100,000 to the Duchess of Portsmouth if she would intercede with the King for his son's pardon; but Charles was inexorable, feeling determined to strike a death-blow at the plots which had too long agitated the country. Lady Russell then threw herself at the King's feet, and pleaded, with tears in her eyes, that her husband's life might be spared. Finding all her supplications unavailing, she did all she could to console her unfortunate Lord, and to reconcile him to his approaching fate. Sad indeed was the parting between the affectionate pair, on the day of his execution, when Russell exclaimed "the bitterness of death is now past." His intimate friend, Lord Cavendish,

[1] State Trials. Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. p. 739.

deserted him not in this dire calamity, offering to change clothes with him, and remain a prisoner in his place. The Duke of Monmouth also proposed to surrender himself, if Russell thought it might contribute to his safety. Knowing that these generous proposals would not avail him, he refused to accept them, observing, "It will be no advantage to me to have my friends die with me." On being led to the scaffold, he wound up his watch, remarking, "Now I have done with time, and must henceforth think solely of eternity." He was executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the 21st of July, and died with great firmness and composure.

Algernon Sidney, son of the Earl of Leicester, was next brought to trial. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and had taken an active part in the late Civil Wars against the King, although he had always been opposed to the usurpation of Cromwell. In 1677, after living abroad, he obtained the King's pardon, and returned to England. While the Popish plots were in agitation, he again joined the popular party, anxious for the restoration of a republican government. It is no wonder, therefore, that he rendered himself highly obnoxious to the Court and ministry. The only witness against him was Lord Howard, but some papers found in his house were construed to be sufficient evidence of his guilt. He had little to expect from the stern Judge Jefferies and a partial jury, by whom he was condemned. He protested against the iniquity of his sentence; although he could not deny the conspiracies in which he had been engaged with Monmouth

and Russell, and gloried in suffering for "that good old cause," as he termed it, which had been his idol from his youth upwards.

His trial was followed by that of Hampden, who was not, however, arraigned for high treason, the Crown-lawyers considering that there was not sufficient evidence to convict him on that charge. He escaped, therefore, with the heavy fine of £40,000. Holloway, a Bristol merchant, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, the latter of whom had shewn himself to be so decided an enemy of the Duke of York, were then condemned and executed.

The same day on which Russell was tried, Lord Essex, who was a prisoner in the Tower, was found in his apartment with his throat cut. His death was attributed to the King and the Duke, who on that morning happened to visit the Tower; but, on investigation, there did not appear any reason for this suspicion. There is little doubt, as in the case of Godfrey, that the fatal act was committed by himself, he being also a man of malancholy temperament.

Several persons were heavily fined about this time, for their treasonable expressions, or correspondence; and among others, the notorious Oates, who was condemned for having called the Duke a "Popish traitor," to pay £100,000, and in default thereof to remain in prison.

Monmouth, on the first discovery of the plot, absconded; but a Proclamation being issued against him, he was obliged to do for his own security what his good nature could not bring him to. He wrote, therefore, to

the King, in a most humble manner, to beg pardon for his fatal errors; his crimes appeared to him, he said, in so terrible a shape that he preferred death itself before the present sense of them. In fine, he pressed so vehemently for pardon, that the King was not proof against his solicitations, but admitted him to his presence at the office of Secretary Jenkins, who, being withdrawn, and none present but the King and the Duke of York, Monmouth freely owned his knowledge of the whole conspiracy, except what related to the intended assassination, with which he averred he never was acquainted.

The Queen interceded with the King for his son's pardon, and it was in consequence of her good offices that he obtained it.[1]

The Duke of York took down, and introduces in his Memoirs, the particulars of this confession of Monmouth's, and moreover left in the King's hands a letter owning his knowledge of the conspiracy, which the King required of him. Monmouth, notwithstanding all his professions of loyalty, began again to associate

[1] Jesse's Courts of the Stuarts, Vol. iv. p. 26. On the 11th of June following, 1685, with the view of asserting his right to the throne, Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, with about 100 followers, which, from his popularity, were soon increased to about 6,000. Being soon after defeated by the King's forces at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, he fled from the field of battle; and, being pursued, was found concealed in a ditch under some fern. He implored his uncle to spare his life, but James was inexorable; and, after several unsuccessful strokes from the executioner, he was beheaded on the 15th of July. Thus perished this rash and misguided young nobleman, in the 36th year of his age.

with his former counsellors, and was desirous to get back the above-mentioned letter. This matter he pressed so earnestly that the King returned it, saying that he would not keep it against his will, on which he immediately denied every word he had said.[1]

His royal father was extremely angry to find his indulgence thus abused, but all he could do was to banish him the Court; on which he withdrew privately with one gentleman and a servant, took shipping at Greenwich in a fisher-boat, and landed soon after in Zealand.[2]

The year 1684 was ushered in with the severest frost ever known. The Thames was frozen over, and a fair held upon it. An ox was roasted whole, at a fire made upon the ice. The King and Queen both visited the fair. During this winter, the people endured the greatest miseries and privations, in consequence of the high price of provisions and firing, and the stoppage put to trade and commerce, by reason of the frozen state of the river.

The King now did all in his power to increase his returning popularity; and, knowing how obnoxious his subjects were to Popery, on the 28th of July he married his niece, Anne, to George, brother of the King of Denmark, a Protestant Prince, but very much against the inclination of her father. Not long after, the King, in recompense of his brother's dutiful compliance in this and in all other matters, restored him to his former employments of High-Admiral, and Privy Councillor,

[1] Memoirs of James II., Vol. i. pp. 743-4.
[2] Ibid. Vol. i. p. 744.

and thus made him some sort of reparation for the charges brought against him by Oates.[1]

In the ensuing November, the Queen's birthday was celebrated with great splendour and festivity. "There were fire-works on the Thames before Whitehall, with pageants of castles, forts, and other devices, especially the King and Queen's arms, and mottoes, all represented in fire, such as never had before been seen in England. There were besides, several fights and skirmishes, both in and on the water, which actually moved a long way burning under the water, and now and then appearing above it, giving reports like muskets and cannon, with granadoes, and innumerable other devices. This grand display is said to have cost £1,500. The evening concluded with a ball, where all the young ladies and gallants danced in the great hall. The Court had not been so brave and richly apparelled since his Majesty's restoration."[2]

The career of Charles the Second was now fast hastening to a close. On the evening of the 1st of February, 1685, the Sunday before his dissolution, the courtiers amused themselves by playing at basset round a large table, with a bank before them of about £2,000

[1] This infamous wretch was, in the following year, convicted of perjury, heavily fined, and twice publicly and most severely whipped through the streets of London, which he bore with great courage. He was also sentenced to be imprisoned for life, and put in the pillory five times in each year. He not only recovered from this flagellation, but lived many years, until the reign of King William, when a pension of £100 a year was settled on him. See Hume's History of England.

[2] Evelyn's Diary.

in gold. The King took no part in it, but, observes Evelyn, was "sitting in open dalliance with three of the shameless wantons of his Court, the Duchesses of Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, and others of the same stamp, while a French boy was singing love-songs in that glorious gallery. Six days after, all was in the dust."

About eight o'clock the following morning, the King was seized with a violent fit of apoplexy, just as he came out of his closet, where he had been for some time before he was dressed. The Duke was immediately advertised of it; but, before he could get to his Majesty's bed-chamber, Dr. King, an eminent physician, being in the withdrawing-room, had been called in, and bled him; and then, by application and remedies usual on such occasions, (which was done by his own physicians,) he perfectly regained his senses; so that, next morning, there were great hopes of his recovery; but, on the fourth day, he grew so much worse, that all those hopes vanished, and the doctors declared they absolutely despaired of his life, which made it high time for him to think of preparing for the other world. Accordingly, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, of Durham, and Bath and Wells, were in attendance to offer their spiritual aid. Dr. Kenn then read the prayers appointed in the Common Prayer book on such occasions, and on coming to the place where the sick person is enjoined to make a confession of his sins, he advertised his Majesty it was not of obligation so, after a short exhortation, he asked him if he were sorry for his sins; which the King saying he was,

Kenn pronounced absolution, and then asked him if he pleased to receive the sacrament? to which he made no reply; and, being pressed by the bishop several times, gave no other answer but that it was time enough, or that he would think of it.[1]

The Duke, who stood all this while by his Majesty's bed-side, and seeing that, notwithstanding the bishop's solicitation, he would not receive the communion from them, and knowing the King's sentiments in matters of religion, concerning which he had recently had frequent conferences with him, thought it a fit opportunity to remind him of it, and therefore, desiring the company, who crowded the room, to stand a little from the bed, said he was overjoyed to find his Majesty in the same mind that he was when he spoke lately to him in his closet about religion, at which time he was pleased to show him a paper he had written himself about controversy, and thereupon asked him if he desired he should send for a priest to him, to which the King immediately replied, "For God's sake, brother, do, and please to lose no time:" but then, reflecting on the consequence, added, "but will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?" The Duke answered, "Sir, though it cost me my life, I will bring one to you;" and immediately going into the next room, and seeing no Catholic there he could send but the Count Castelmelhor, he despatched him on that errand; and, though other priests were sent for, yet it happened none could then be got, but Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, who had rendered such important services to his Majesty after

[1] Memoirs of James II. Lingard.

the battle of Worcester. The priest being secretly brought up a pair of back-stairs into a private closet, the Duke advertised the King where he was, who thereupon ordered every one to withdraw except the Duke, who thought it advisable that the Earl of Bath, who was Lord of the bed-chamber, then in waiting, and the Earl of Feversham, the captain of his guards, should remain in the room, telling the King it was not fit he should be quite alone with his Majesty, considering the weak condition he was then in: and, as soon as the room was cleared, he accordingly called Mr. Huddleston in, whom he introduced to his brother with these words, "Sir, I bring you a man who once saved your life; he now comes to save your soul!" Charles testified his great joy and satisfaction, and, in a faint voice, replied, "He is welcome."

Huddleston then exhorted the King to repeat a prayer after him, which he terms an "act of contrition," gave him absolution, and administered extreme unction and the Sacrament, according to the rites of the Catholic Church.[1] After this, Father Huddleston left him in so much peace of mind that he looked approaching death in the face with all imaginable tranquillity and Christian resolution.[2]

The company then being called in again, his Majesty expressed the greatest kindness and tenderness for the Duke that could possibly be conceived; he owned, in the most public manner, the sense he had of

[1] Huddleston's Brief Account of the Death of Charles the Second.

[2] Memoirs of James II.

his brotherly affection during the whole course of his life, and particularly in this last action; he commended his great submission and constant obedience to all his commands, and asked him pardon aloud for the rigorous treatment with which he had so long exercised his patience; all which he said in so affecting a manner as drew tears from every one present. He told the Duke "that he now willingly left all he had for his sake, prayed God to send him a long and prosperous reign, and entreated him to be kind to his children, and not to let poor Nelly starve."[1] He spoke most tenderly to the Queen, too; and, in fine, "left nothing unsaid or undone, that so small a time would allow of, to reconcile himself to God, or to make satisfaction to those he had injured upon earth, disposing himself to die with the piety and unconcernedness becoming a Christian, and resolution becoming a King." At six o'clock in the morning, he inquired "what o'clock it was?" and on being told, he said, "Draw up the curtain, and open the window, that I may behold the light of the sun for the last time."

His senses beginning to fail him, which had continued perfect till about an hour before his death, he

[1] James afterwards granted Nell Gwynne a pension of £1,500 a year. It appears, from the address of Mr. Webster, at the close of the Adelphi on the 2nd of June, last year, that upon the very spot where his theatre is erected, formerly stood the road-side farmhouse of this celebrated comic actress. "Under my feet," observed that gentleman, "is the well of pure spring water—that still bears her name—of which she loved to drink, when halting here on her way to the village of Charing, to eat fish and curds with the merry monarch."

expired between eleven and twelve o'clock on Friday morning, being the 6th of February, 1685, in the 55th year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign, dating from the period of his Restoration. James the Second was proclaimed King the same day his brother died, after which he and many of his courtiers paid the bereaved Queen visits of condolence. She received them in a chamber lighted with tapers, and hung with black from the ceiling to the floor.[1]

But little respect was paid, it seems, to the remains of the deceased monarch. "He was hurried," says Coke, "in the dead of the night, to his grave, as if his corpse had been to be arrested for debt, and not so much as the blue-coat boys attending it."

There is also a remarkable passage in Burnet's History, confirmatory of the unseemly treatment of the remains of royalty. He says, "the King's body was indecently neglected. Some parts of his inwards and some pieces of the fat were left in the water in which they were washed; all which were so carelessly looked after, that the water, being poured out at a scullery-hole, that went to a drain, in the mouth of which a grate lay,

[1] Catharine afterwards resided at Somerset House, as Queen Dowager, and had a villa at Hammersmith, where she spent the summer months very privately. Her principal diversion was music, which she had always loved. She had concerts regularly, and on a splendid scale: in all other respects, she lived with rigid economy. By James II. and his Court she was much respected. In 1692, she left England for Lisbon, carrying with her, according to Walpole, some valuable pictures out of the royal collection, as part payment of a debt which she alleged to be due to her from the Crown; and there she died, on the 31st of December, 1705, at the age of 67, and was interred at Belem.

these were seen lying on the grate many days after. His funeral was very mean. He did not lie in state, no mournings were given; and the expense of it was not equal to what an ordinary nobleman's funeral will rise to." If the above statement be correct, it speaks little for the fraternal affection of James.

Eight days after his decease, on account of the proscribed rites of the creed he had avowed in his dying moments, Charles was interred somewhat privately at midnight, on the 14th of February, in Westminster Abbey, where his effigy, in wax, is still preserved. Prince George of Denmark attended as chief mourner. The Privy-council, the members of the royal household, and many of the nobility were present on the mournful occasion.

With the view of casting suspicion upon the new sovereign, and keeping up the popular feeling against him, rumours were industriously circulated that the death of Charles had been caused by poison, for which there does not appear to be the slightest foundation. Sir Henry Ellis relates, in reference to the illness which immediately preceded the death of Charles II., that a very full and curious detail, in Latin, is preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, together with copies of the prescriptions of the medicines administered (two of them signed by no fewer than fourteen physicians); that an account is given of the appearance of his Majesty's body, when opened, the

whole *completely removing the suspicion that the King was taken off by poison.*[1]

In person, Charles was above the middle height. His features, although not handsome, when lighted up by the sparkling expression of his black eyes, were extremely interesting. His complexion was dark, swarthy, and overshadowed by a profusion of black, glossy hair. In form, he was manly and graceful. There was a dignity in all his movements, and no one could better act and look the King than he did. His loss was deeply felt and lamented by the nation at large. The people had, during his reign, been little burdened by taxes, and many had been excused from paying them in seasons of calamity.

Although the Queen brought him no children, by his various mistresses he had a numerous progeny. By Lucy Walter, he was father of the Duke of Monmouth, and a daughter, married to William Sarsfield, Esq. By the Duchess of Cleveland, he had six children, viz.—the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland, the Countesses of Sussex and Litchfield, and Barbara, who became a nun at Pontoise. By the Duchess of Portsmouth, the Duke of Richmond. By Nell Gwynne, the Duke of St. Albans and James Beauclerc, who died when young. By Mary Davies, Lady Derwentwater. By Lady Shannon, the Countess of Yarmouth; and by Catherine Pegg, the Earl of Plymouth and a daughter, who died young. Most of these illegitimate descend-

[1] Historical Letters, Second Series.

ants were provided with ample means of supporting their respective dignities.

After his death, the sum of £80,000 is said to have been discovered in his private cabinet, which it was supposed he intended to expend on one of his favourite new palaces at Newmarket or Winchester, which, however, he did not live to see completed. Two papers were also found in his strong-box, in his own handwriting, containing arguments in favour of the Romish religion.

James, who was all along intent on the spread of that faith, showed the documents to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who seemed greatly surprised, and observed, cautiously, "that he *thought* they might be answered." The new successor to the throne caused them to be printed and published by his own printer, with the following attestation to each of them:—

"This is a true copy of a paper I found in the late King, my brother's strong-box, written in his own hand.

"JAMES R."[1]

Chemistry, mechanism, architecture, and anatomy,

[1] It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that James was not long suffered to occupy the throne. His severities and arbitrary proceedings, with the view of establishing Popery, gave such discontent to his people that William, Prince of Orange, who, as we have seen, had married Mary, his eldest daughter, was induced to invade the kingdom on the 5th of November, 1688. The King then abdicated the throne, and fled to France, where, after some vain attempts in Ireland to recover his dominions, he died, on the 16th of September, 1700.

were among the favourite studies of Charles II. He also loved music, poetry, and theatricals. He took great interest in ship-building and naval affairs, frequently visiting and inspecting the fleet. During his reign, science, literature, and the arts, which had received a serious check during the Civil Wars, made rapid strides. Stately buildings and noble institutions successively sprang up, to the admiration of the world. St. Paul's Cathedral was designed by Wren, under his flattering auspices; the Royal Society; the Observatory at Greenwich; and Chelsea College, a lasting memorial to his consideration for our veteran soldiers, were founded between the years 1660 and 1680. The King principally resided at Whitehall or Windsor, though he sometimes visited Hampton Court and Newmarket. The old Palace at Whitehall must have been a most spacious building. "It extended," says Pennant, "along the river, and in front along the present Parliament and Whitehall Streets, as far as Scotland Yard; and, on the other side of those streets, to the turning into Spring Garden, looking into St. James's Park. The merry King, his Queen, his royal brother, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and all the great officers, and all the courtly train, had their lodgings within these walls; and all the royal family had their different offices, such as kitchens, cellars, pantries, spiceries, cyder-house, bake-house, wood-yards, coal-yards, and slaughter-house. The whole of this extensive range of buildings was destroyed by fire in 1697."

Historians have taken very opposite views of the character of Charles II. While some writers have been too much biassed in his favour, others have shewn themselves far too harsh in their censure. That he had many failings, cannot be denied; but that he was possessed of many generous and ennobling qualities, is equally evident. Among the former, may be mentioned the depraved and immoral life he led, the violation of his marriage-vow, the vast sums he lavished upon his shameless mistresses, and his unkind treatment and neglect of the Queen.

The constant scenes of vice and depravity presented by the Court soon after his Restoration, sanctioned by the presence of the sovereign himself, exercised a very baneful influence over his subjects. Men are sometimes prone to rush into very opposite extremes; and so it happened in the present instance. The religious enthusiasm of the Roundheads gave way before the laxity of morals introduced by the Cavaliers, and which shortly pervaded all classes of the community; and the same men who, during the Civil Wars, evinced such a hatred and detestation of the Cavaliers, now copied them in everything, even to the fashion of cultivating long and flowing locks on their hitherto closely-cropped heads. Thus the distinctive features in which they formerly exulted, soon disappeared, and these two great rival parties soon merged, as it were, into one.

For the bad example set by the young monarch

some apology may be found, when it is borne in mind that he had been compelled to pass much of his life abroad, where he imbibed no very strict notions of morality, especially at the French Court, and abandoned himself to those pleasures and gallantries, in which the people among whom he was thrown were wont to indulge. As regarded his religious sentiments, it is manifest that his mother had inoculated him, even at a very early age, with an admiration for her own faith, and that he continued a Catholic at heart, although, to gain his own ends, he openly professed himself to be a Protestant. It must be admitted, however, that had he avowed his belief he never would have been invited to occupy the throne of his fathers. Full well did Charles know this, and he therefore vigilantly guarded from the public eye the grand secret of his life, which only came to light when that of day was about to close upon him for ever. In order to preserve this mighty secret, he all along practised the grossest deception and hypocrisy—witness his simulated indignation at the attempts of his mother to convert his brother, Gloucester, to the Romish faith.

Charles has been most justly condemned for his private treaty with Louis XIV., by which he bound himself not only to encourage the growth in England of the Catholic religion, which he knew to be so obnoxious to his subjects, but also to turn round upon his Dutch allies. As a reward for this disgraceful proceeding, he received large sums of money, which he was

glad to obtain on any terms, to meet his inordinate expenditure. By this compact, he at once compromised the honour and dignity of the nation over which he had been so cordially invited to preside, and exhibited the grossest treachery towards a power with which he had recently established the most friendly relations.

Turn we now to the reverse and pleasing side of the picture. His manners were affable and engaging to the highest degree. He was a most agreeable and witty companion, but his wit was never calculated to give offence. In conversation, he threw a charm around him, that prepossessed every one in his favour. For the different members of his family, he ever felt the most tender regard. He exerted himself, in an especial manner, to save the life of his father, by binding himself to any terms to effect this object In all respects, he shewed himself to be a good and dutiful son, as well as an affectionate brother. As a father, he did all in his power to promote the welfare of his illegitimate children, and readily pardoned the disobedient and rebellious conduct of the Duke of Monmouth. He evinced the most generous sympathy for the unfortunate sufferers from the Plague and the Great Fire, by ministering to their necessities out of his own purse, and that, too, at a time when his own means were greatly straitened. Although his conduct towards Catharine was very far from what it ought to have been, no sooner did he see her surrounded with

enemies, and her life assailed by the foulest conspiracies, than he stood boldly forward as her champion, her protector, and her husband. Such is a brief, and as we believe impartial, summary of the leading vices and virtues of Charles II. Which of the two preponderates over the other, we leave to the decision of that best of all tribunals—an enlightened public.

THE END.

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